

T R A V E L S
I N
S P A I N:

CONTAINING
A NEW, ACCURATE, AND COMPREHENSIVE VIEW
OF THE
PRESENT STATE OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY THE
CHEVALIER DE BOURGOANNE.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
COPIOUS EXTRACTS
FROM THE
ESSAYS ON SPAIN
OF
M. P E Y R O N.

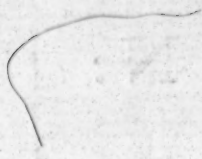
IN THREE VOLUMES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWELVE COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME I.

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ADVERTISEMENT

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

THOUGH the public is already in possession of the remarks of several travellers on Spain, they none of them can make any pretensions to preclude the present work, the author of which has principally directed his inquiries to a subject which, though highly interesting, perhaps the most interesting of any that can engage the attention of a traveller, has been less attended to by former writers on this country; I mean the present state of its civil government, trade, and manufactures. The long stay of the Chevalier de Bourgoanne in Spain* has enabled him to treat these

* The Chevalier, we have been informed, was secretary to the French embassy at the court of Spain; and resides at present at Hamburgh, as French minister to the Circle of Lower Saxony.

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subjects more at large, and more accurately, than any who have preceded him; not to mention that the accounts here given, independent of their unquestionable fidelity, are much the most modern.

To render this work still more complete, an additional volume has been added, consisting of very copious extracts from the *Essays on, or Travels in, Spain*, of M. Peyron; a late work of considerable merit, which has never yet appeared in English. Such descriptions of places as had already been described in the preceding volumes, inventories of paintings, the whole, or at least the principal, of which had before been noticed, are, as may be supposed, omitted. Thus also the chapters on the inquisition, the bull-fights, and the Spanish sheep, are omitted, because they contain little more than what may be found in the work of M. de Bourgoanne. The greatest part, however, of what is most interesting and novel in the *Travels*

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vels of M. Peyron is retained; the account of the Alhambra and its inscriptions, in particular, will be found so full and compleat as to be no improper supplement to Mr. Swinburn's description of that noble monument of Moorish antiquity.

The translator has only to add, that, with respect to the performance of his part of what is here presented to the reader, he aspires to no other praise but that of having rendered the sense of his original with fidelity, and, he flatters himself, with perspicuity. He has indulged himself in very few liberties; but has endeavoured to give a just copy of the manner, as well as faithfully to preserve the meaning of his author.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T

vals of Mr. Poynton's remains; the
court of the Admiralty and the
court in London, with a view to
fall and complete as to be a proper
supplement to the Admiralty's
report of that noble monument of Mr. Poynton's
and his family.

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P R E F A C E.

IF it is difficult, not to say impossible, for even an impartial historian always to discover the truth, to unravel the complicated details, or clearly to explain the obscure causes of the events he relates, even of those to which he has himself been a witness; how much more difficult must it be for the writer of travels sufficiently to guard against error, or combat prejudice; especially if, as is commonly the case, after hastily traversing countries entirely unknown to him, he undertakes to give a faithful account of the manners, arts, sciences, virtues, vices, and a thousand other physical and moral characteristics which distinguish a people of whose language he is, perhaps, totally ignorant, or at best has but an imperfect knowledge?

Several

Several descriptions of Spain have appeared within these few years. The Effays of M. Peyron, the Travels of Mr. Twiss, and, especially, those of Mr. Swinburn, certainly contain many interesting and accurate observations; but the author of the following work, who has resided many years in Spain, while he pays all possible respect to the abilities of these writers, thinks himself justified in asserting that no acuteness or penetration can compensate for the short stay they made in a country which can only be known by a long and intimate intercourse with the various classes of its inhabitants, and a perfect acquaintance with their language and manners.

The Spanish nation has almost constantly been treated by the generality of travellers with a severity of censure extremely displeasing to
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all those who possess a real knowledge of its true character. Not that the following work is to be considered as either a professed eulogium, or an apology. An eulogium is ever suspicious: we know well that many deductions are always to be made from every thing which appears under such a form: it is frequently only the exaggerated tribute of gratitude, or the mean adulation of self-interest. The author, indeed, frankly confesses that he has found it necessary to be upon his guard against the former of these motives; but the latter cannot exist, as all connexion between him and the country of which he writes has entirely ceased. As to an apology, he is well persuaded that it can never convince prejudice, and that it would be superfluous to readers of understanding, whose judgment
can

can only be influenced by indisputable facts.

The present work, therefore, is not written either indiscriminately to praise, or obstinately to defend the Spanish nation. It must not be forgotten, likewise, that it was not originally intended for the public eye, though certain reasons, which it is not necessary here to specify, have induced the writer to yield to the sollicitations of friendship. We may therefore, perhaps, the rather expect to find in it impartiality and truth, as far, at least, as it was in the power of the author to discover what was truth.



1. Isle of Pheasants.

2. Spanish Custom-house.

3. French Custom-house.

FERRY of the BIDASSOA.

4. Road from St. Jean de Luz.
5. River Bidassoa.
6. First houses of the town of Irun.

J. G. S. 1840

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
SPAIN.

IN the year 1782, I conceived the design of making a journey into Spain, a country, concerning which, I had heard so many contradictory accounts; which formerly was of such distinguished eminence among the powers of Europe, and which still possesses considerable weight in the balance of its various states; a country with which we are but little acquainted, though well deserving to be better known.

VOL. I.

B

When

When I passed the Bidassoa, I determined to leave my private as well as national prejudices, with all my indeterminate ideas of the people I was about to visit on the bank, and endeavoured to forget, as much as possible, every thing I had heard or read concerning Spain, so that on my arriving at Irun, the first Spanish town, my mind, with respect to all I had read or heard concerning this country, might have been compared to the *rosa tabula* of the schoolmen.

My intention is to give a plain relation, devoid of acrimony or enthusiasm, of every thing of which I still preserve the impression. Instead of taking post-horses from Bayonne to Orogne, which is five leagues distant from the former, and two from the frontiers, I exchanged my carriage, as most travellers do, for a vehicle not very elegant, called, by the Spaniards, *Coche de Colleras*, and which, till we are used to it, excites many alarming apprehensions. This carriage is rather strong than commodious, and drawn by six mules, to which the
voice

voice of the conductors serves either as a spur or bridle. On seeing them fastened to each other as well as to the shafts, with simple cords, and their straggling manner of going, as if without any kind of guidance, in the crooked, uneven, and frequently unbeaten roads of Spain, the traveller imagines himself entirely abandoned to the care of Providence; but on the appearance of the least danger, a single word from the chief muleteer, who is called *Mayoral*, is sufficient to govern and direct these docile animals. If their ardor abates, the *Zagal*, who is his postillion, jumps from the shafts, where he is stationed as a centinel, animates them with his voice and whip, runs for some time by their side, and then returns to his post, where he remains until called forth by the same or some similar circumstance to repeat his services. This vigilance of the two conductors soon relieves the traveller from his fears, who, notwithstanding, remains astonished that more accidents do not happen from so awkward a manner of travelling. He reconciles

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himself, however, more easily to this than to the Spanish inns. Their inconveniences have, perhaps, been exaggerated, as it generally happens when ill-humour guides the pen; but the truth is, that they are in general without any good accommodation; travellers are badly lodged and served; and those who wish for a tolerable repast, must themselves solicit the aid of the butcher, baker, and grocer. In this respect, however, there has, within these few years, been a change for the better. I have met with some tolerable inns, especially in the principal cities. The present minister, who extends his beneficent attention to every thing which can benefit the kingdom, is at this moment forming a plan for the improvement of inns in general, and its completion is impatiently expected. To carry such a plan into effect, will be more difficult in Spain than in any other nation, because the abuses to be reformed proceed from the manners, customs, prejudices, and, in some measure, from the constitution of the country. These obstacles

cles are not of such a magnitude as to abate the zeal of the Count de Florida Blanca; they will only render his success more honourable. The execution of his plan was for some years retarded by the war, but he now means to consecrate the leisure and savings of peace to the accomplishment of his purpose.

These few remarks upon inns will certainly be sufficient. I will not fatigue the reader with observations upon so beaten a subject.

I was familiarized to my perilous equipage by the time I arrived at the frontier of the two kingdoms. The boundary of these is the Bidassoa, a river famous in the political history of Louis XIV. from the island which it forms at a small distance to the right of the place where the river is passed, and called the Island of Pheasants. The important interview between Cardinal Mazarin and Don Louis de Haro, occasioned it to receive the name of the Island of Conference. It is not a

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quarter of a league in circumference, is entirely uninhabited, and almost barren; it owes its fame, like many persons of moderate talents, to a fortunate circumstance.

As soon as the traveller has passed this island, he finds himself in Spain. Some of my enthusiastic countrymen will tell you, that the moment they set their feet on the other side of the river, the horizon and soil are changed; that they breathe another air, and feel the influence of a foreign climate. Forgive them the idle fancy; Nature, which sports with our geographical divisions, when they are marked by great rivers, or even by arms of the sea, preserves, notwithstanding the change of denomination, a striking similitude between the two opposite banks; it would be the same thing to her did the rivulet of Bidassoa divide the meadow of a private individual. The banks resemble each other; if the traveller remove from them a few leagues on either side, he will, whether he be a Frenchman or not, prefer the district which
leads

leads him from Bayonne to that which conducts him to it. The difference also between the last roads of France and those at the entrance of Spain, is in favour of the latter. The roads of Biscay may be said to be among the finest in Europe. Few countries laboured, in this respect, under greater difficulties. Biscay, which joins the Pyrenees, seems to be an extensive continuation of these mountains to the borders of Castile. In tracing a road there were considerable descents to diminish, precipices to avoid, and high summits to turn with address. Such ground required all the art which can be displayed in the construction of roads. The three provinces (*Guipuscoa, Vizcaya, and Alava*) of which Biscay is composed, and which, with respect to their private concerns, form three distinct little states, joined their efforts to accomplish this end, as is usual with them when their common interest is in question: Nature has not been prodigal to them in her gifts. Guipuscoa, and Vizcaya are unprovided with corn, and are supplied with it by

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Alava, which with that only resource is almost as well peopled as the other two. The three provinces of Biscay are the asylum of liberty and industry, and this is the great cause of their common prosperity; for what miracles may not be wrought by these two sisters who usually go hand in hand? In crossing Biscay, we perceive that their presence has given animation to every object; nothing can be more delightful than the hills; nothing more chearful than the cultivated valleys. For thirty leagues, the distance between the Bidassoa and Vittoria, not a quarter of an hour passes but the traveller discovers some village or hamlet. The towns of Villafranca, Villareal and Mondragon; have the air of independence and plenty. What a difference in the aspect of this country and that of the neighbouring province! I am far from wishing to throw ridicule on the Castilians, whose virtues I esteem; but they are silent and melancholy; they bear in their austere and fallow visages the marks of lassitude and poverty. The Biscayans have
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a different complexion, and quite another air of countenance and character. Free, lively, and hospitable; they seem to enjoy their happiness, and wish to communicate it to those who come among them. I shall long remember what happened to us at Villafraanca. We arrived there early, the weather was fine, and we wandered on the outside of the town, amusing ourselves with observing the varieties of its cultivation. Several groups of peasants in different parts of the orchards engaged our attention; we also excited theirs. A moment of mutual curiosity caused us to approach each other. My travelling companion spoke Spanish with great facility; he knew, as well as myself, that that language bore no resemblance to that of the Biscayans; but we could not imagine that in a province so long subjected to Spain, the language of the sovereign was unknown: and that it was necessary to have recourse to the primitive tongue. We gave these good people to understand that we wished to taste their fruit. They immediately strove who should be the first

first to oblige us; our hands were soon filled, and we were strongly solicited to fill our pockets also. Some of the peasants went to procure us fowl and fresh eggs; we had great difficulty in preventing them from being offended at our refusal, and regretted we had no other interpreter than our looks and gestures. We were obliged, at last, to leave them; but as we had rambled without directing our steps to any particular place, and were unable, without a guide, to find the way back to our inn, our benefactors now caused us some embarrassment, as each wished to become our guide. Those whose services were not accepted, kept, for a long time, their eyes fixed upon us. They could not but easily discover that we were surprized at their hospitality. We left them some marks of our acknowledgment, which they received in such a manner as proved to us the disinterestedness of the reception we had met with. We seemed to quit those amiable natives of the South-sea islands, whom Messrs. Cook and Bougainville have taught us to love,

love, and yet we were not twenty leagues from Bayonne.

These Biscayans, who are so different in their language and appearance from the Castilians, are not less so in the constitution of their country. Their province is considered, in many respects, as beyond the Spanish frontiers. Except a few restrictions, all merchandize enters, and is never examined but at the interior limits. The province has other privileges of which the people are very jealous, but so precarious a possession is liberty, that these have recently been more than once attacked. The most moderate government suffers with regret the shackles with which liberty confines its authority. If the king be in want of a certain number of foldiers or sailors, he notifies his wishes to the province, and the people find the most easy means of furnishing their contingency. The taxes which they pay have the name and form of free gifts (*donativo*) The monarch, by his minister of finances, requires a certain sum, the demand is discussed

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cuffed by the states, and, as it may be imagined, is always acquiesced in. They then levy the sum upon the different cities and communities, according to a register, which, like that of the *tailles* in France, suffers frequent modifications. There is one advantage derived from this mode of levying; the impost being paid from the city grants, individuals are not exposed either to seizure or constraint. It therefore seems, in the first point of view, that Biscay taxes itself; and, for want of the reality, the inhabitants cherish this shadow, to which, for some years past, they have made real sacrifices. The free commerce of Spanish America might be extended to their ports, if the Biscayans would allow the necessary duties to be there paid; but they look upon custom-house officers as the creatures of despotism, and their jealousy rejects the proffered benefits of the sovereign. They can make no commercial expedition to America, without preparing for it in a neighbouring port, and the most industrious people of Spain, the most experienced in navigation,

gation, and the best situated for such a commerce, sacrifice a part of these advantages to that of preserving some small remains of liberty. Thus, before the war which gave independence to British America, all the inhabitants of one of the provinces engaged themselves, by an oath, not to eat lamb, in order to increase the growth of wool, with the intention of rendering useless the manufactures of the mother country.

In fact, the Biscayans have had from the beginning of the present century an advantage over the Spaniards, relative to the commerce of America. The company of Caracas, known also by the name of that of Guipuscoa, had warehouses upon the coast, and made voyages from one of their ports ; but this company has lately been unfortunate, on which account government has determined to relieve it from a burden, which from circumstances became highly inconvenient. Exempted therefore from contributing to the expences of government, its commerce may be renewed.

newed with the colony of Caracas, without having reason to fear, for many years, those competitors who have been permitted the same liberty of traffic.

Biscay is remarkable for its roads, cultivation, and privileges, but more particularly for the industry of its inhabitants. This is chiefly exercised upon iron, the principal production of the province. In order to improve this manufacture, the Biscayans have recourse to foreign correspondence, public lectures, and travelling. At Bergara there is a patriotic school, where metallurgy is taught by the most able professors. Students in chymistry have been sent to Sweden and Germany, where they have acquired, as well in the bowels of the earth as in the shops of manufacturers, such knowledge as has already been profitable to their country; for this word is not a vain sound in Biscay. The inhabitants, separated by their situation, language, and privileges, weak as they are, and confined within narrow limits, are called by Nature

ture and Policy to feel the spirit of patriotism, and are obedient to the call. This noble sentiment produced the school of Bergara, where the nobility of the country are brought up at the expence of the states; and, not long ago, the same patriotism has given new employment to the industry of the Biscayans by digging the port of Deva.

There are several other such harbours upon their coasts, which merit the traveller's attention. Bilboa, the capital of Biscay, properly so called, has one where commerce is in the most flourishing state, and whence an intercourse is maintained with France, Holland, and England. I did not visit this city, it being too far from the great road from Bayonne to Madrid, but I made a little circuit to go to two other nearer ports. I left the great road at Arnani, to cross by a fine road the mountains which separate it from the sea. From their tops is seen the little city of St. Sebastian, which is joined to the Continent by a narrow neck of low land. The port, if an
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artificial harbour can be so called, is very narrow, and adapted, by moles, for fifteen or twenty vessels, which are there placed as in so many drawers. It is sheltered by an eminence, on which the ruins of an old castle are discovered. From St. Sebastian I kept along the sea coast, travelling over mountains that surround a bay called the *Port of the Passage*, and which resembles rather a great pond than a gulph of the ocean. As soon as I arrived at the inner confines, I was beset by a troop of female Biscayans, who spoke to me with some vehemence, without my understanding a word of what they uttered. I was for some time embarrassed to discover the intention of this seeming banditti; and must confess, that had not a little shame prevented me, I should have shewn some marks of fear. They soon, however, became more calm, and by some words, almost French, I understood that these rivals disputed with each other the good fortune of carrying me over to the other side of the harbour. I recovered from my alarm, and threw the
apple

apple to the prettiest of the women. It was not an apple of discord; she who had obtained the preference, modestly enjoyed her triumph, without so much as exciting envy. Notwithstanding the presence of my amiable boat-woman, the space I had to cross appeared to be about half a league; at length I arrived at the little town of the Passage, built in the very narrow space between the mountains and the harbour; and climbed up to the castle, which commands its narrow entrance. From this castle there is, on one side, a view of the spacious bay, and, on the other, of the open sea.

It is from the Port of the Passage that the company of Guipuscoa fits out vessels for the coast of Caracas. After having admired the singular form of this harbour, one of the largest and, perhaps, the safest in Europe, I returned to St. Sebastian, and again entered the road to Vittoria.

This city, the capital of the province of Alava, one of the three of Biscay, is seen as we descend from the mountains;

it stands in the middle of a well cultivated plain, abounding in villages; the town is ill built, and the streets badly contrived; it, however, exhibits the appearance of activity and industry. As I passed through it, I observed a square newly begun, which at my return was compleatly finished. Each side contains nineteen arcades, and one of the fronts of which is that of the town or mansion-house. The pillars are of the Tuscan order. This edifice, notwithstanding some defects, would be an ornament to a city more considerable than that of Vittoria: the plan was not given by a foreign architect, but by M. Olarvide, a native of Vittoria. There is a pleasure in seeing a citizen dedicate his talents to the embellishment of his native country, in which he has improved them. This is no less natural than pleasing; why therefore should it be thought extraordinary?

Five leagues beyond the Vittoria, the Ebro, which divides the town of Miranda into two unequal parts, the principal of which is that on the left bank, makes its appearance. This river is one of those
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objects aggrandized by the magic colours of history, and is found much inferior to the reputation it has acquired. It is true that at Miranda it is near its source, which is at the feet of the mountains of the kingdom of Leon; but although it formerly served as a boundary to the conquests of Charlemagne, it has not hitherto been made navigable. It remains for the present first minister to realize a project, the execution of which would, as it is presumed, give new life to Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia. In the year 1785, the famous canal of Arragon began to justify the hopes which had been entertained of it since the reign of Charles V. Some small vessels from Tudela arrived at Saragossa, where they were received with the most lively demonstrations of joy and gratitude.

Don Ramon Pignatelli did not think he derogated from the dignity of an ecclesiastic, nor from that of his illustrious birth, in devoting his studies to the service of his country. He presides over this

undertaking, which, when accomplished, will open a new conveyance to the productions of Arragon, one of the provinces of Spain, the most favoured by Nature, and yet one of the least productive relatively to its extent. Two canals, that of Tauste and the Imperial Canal, both of which begin in Navarre, and have the same depth of water, run in various windings through Arragon, and by turns recede from or approach the Ebro, till they, at length, fall into it. These streams are the sources of industry to all the districts through which they flow, and render their fields fertile by their fructifying waters. The country of Arragon is already planted with thousands of olive and other trees. The cities and towns which formerly were condemned to drought and scarcity, are now supplied with fish and water from these canals. The rivers which from the north of Navarre and Arragon, formerly emptied their waters into the Ebro, will contribute to the flourishing condition of the countries they have hitherto uselessly watered, as soon

as

as the Ebro can receive the merchandize they bring. This undertaking has been effected by labours, which deserve no less admiration than that excited by the wonders of the canal of Languedoc. Besides the dykes, banks, and sluices, with the larger and smaller bridges, which the two canals in their course rendered necessary; there has been constructed in the vally of Riojalon an aqueduct seven hundred and ten fathoms in length, and seventeen feet thick at the base, in which the little river runs.

Let us now quit the banks of the Ebro, and enter Castile; for we have not yet reached its spacious plains. On leaving Miranda, I discovered the rocks of *Pancorvo*, which have a most picturesque appearance, and have already exercised the pencil of several travellers. The village of *Pancorvo*, three leagues from Miranda, is buried, if I may so say, among the rocks. They scarcely leave a narrow passage for the great road, which is overshadowed by their threatening summits. Five

leagues farther on, we pass through the small city of Bribiesca, enclosed by a wall which has four gates, placed at equal distances. The inhabitants are not opulent, but appear to be active. On leaving Bribiesca to go to Burgos, we meet with two steep hills; and here to quiet our fears, it is necessary to have an unlimited confidence in the docility and sure-footedness of the mules, and the care of their drivers. Near Burgos the road becomes tolerable. This city, the capital of old Castile, is very agreeably situated; the greatest part of it is on the right of the Arlançon, over which there are three bridges. That river describes an arch of a circle round Burgos, and on the other side is a hill, upon which there still remain some ruins of an old fort. The Arlançon embellishes and fertilises all the environs; it renders flourishing the plantations which serve as public walks, waters the verdant meadows, and washes the walls of two remarkable edifices, situated below the city; the first is the monastery *de las Huelgas*, a convent of nuns, the abbess of which has considerable privileges; the

the other is the *Hopital del Rey*, the Royal or King's Hospital, remarkable for the extreme cleanliness preserved in it, and the healthiness of its situation. The most polished nations might take example from the Spaniards with respect to these charitable foundations. A cruel prejudice has not yet made them fear that the wretched should there find themselves sufficiently comforted to see, without repugnance, this asylum open to their misery.

There is nothing remarkable in Burgos except its cathedral, one of the most magnificent and the best preserved of the ancient Gothic edifices. The traveller is not a little surprized at finding in one of the chapels a picture by Michael Angelo Buonarotti, representing the Virgin dressing the infant Jesus, who is standing upon a table. The noble air which Michael Angelo gave to his figures is very observable in these, as is also the strength and correctness of design, to which he frequently sacrificed grace. The cathedral is at the extremity of the city, almost op-

posite to one of the three bridges over the Arlançon. On the other side of the same bridge is a suburb, where, as throughout the kingdom of Spain, is a miraculous image known by the name of *Santo Christo de Burgos*. It is kept in a dark chapel, perfumed with incense, and full of *ex voto*'s and silver lamps, and into which persons are introduced in a manner so mysterious, as to have something awful even to those who are no ways inclined to superstition. As soon as the curious are within the chapel, and on their knees, the wax tapers of the altar, on which the crucifix stands, are lighted. The crucifix is concealed behind three curtains, that are drawn one after the other with a studied slowness, which still adds to the religious solemnity. Simple people believe that its beard grows. Devotees attribute to it many miracles, but impartial eyes can discover in it nothing extraordinary.

The Arlançon again presents itself to view on leaving Burgos, and is scarcely ever lost sight of in any part of the road
to

to Villadrigo ; a very agreeable village, to the right of the river, at the bottom of a vast plain, tolerably cultivated, and less destitute of trees than the rest of Castile.

We next perceive the Pisuerga, a little river which runs from north to south, and the waters of which it was intended should be made to supply the canal of Castile, projected and begun in the preceding reign. This project was afterwards almost abandoned, to the great prejudice of old Castile, which only waits for such an opening for the sale and increase of its productions. The canal was to begin at Segovia, and following the course of the Eresma, which falls into the Duero, to be continued as far north as Reynosa, receiving from the little rivers, in its passage, the tribute of their waters. Reynosa is but twenty leagues from Saint-Ander, a seaport, where all the merchandize exported from old Castile is shipped. A road, which will be destroyed before the canal is finished,

has

has been made to facilitate a communication by land.

Continuing our way along the banks of the Pisuerga, which has led me into this digression, and after having passed two steep hills, the feet of which are washed by the river, we arrive at *Quintana de la Puente*, near to a bridge of eighteen arches, and *Torquemada*, one of the most dirty and wretched towns in Spain. The Pisuerga is again to be crossed here over a bridge of twenty-six arches, and which has lately been almost wholly rebuilt. Were it not for this river, the banks of which are extremely pleasant, and embellished at small distances by groups of trees, nothing could be more dull and less varied than the road from Villadrigo to Duennas. Before we arrive at the latter town, which stands upon rather a steep hill, by the side of the Pisuerga, which in this place receives the river of Carrion; we see on the left the great monastery of St. Isidro, and on the side opposite, a new road, begun in 1784, by the governor
of

of Palencia, whose residence is but two leagues from Duennas. It was made at the expence of the neighbouring communities, and may serve as a model in any country. This, like many other modern works, proves that in Spain, as well as other countries, a love for the public good, and an active disposition, may undertake any thing for general utility, provided the means employed to effect it be not oppressive.

From the hills of Duennas, the country is quite flat and naked to Valladolid, a considerable city, situated near the Pisuerga, and on the banks of the Esquava, a small river, upon which are established a few washing places for the wool of the neighbouring country. Valladolid is well peopled, and seems lively enough, especially at the fair which is held towards the end of September, but the streets are so dirty as to be disgusting both to the sight and smell; people however may, no doubt, accustom themselves to this inconvenience as well as to many others.

Several

Several of the churches of Valladolid, those especially of the Dominicans and of *San Benito*, are elegant, agreeable to the Spanish taste, that is handsome and full of altars richly gilt. They moreover contain some tombs of white marble, admirably sculptured. The sculptures, as well in coloured wood as in marble, in detached groups or bas relief, may be traced back to the revival of the arts in Spain; an epocha which produced Juan de Juni, Berruguete, Becerra, and others, who would do honour to more enlightened ages.

The cathedral of Valladolid engaged my attention. This, even towards the end of the year 1785, was but an enormous mass of dark-coloured stone, without the least ornament. The pilasters round the nave are of the Doric order, the proportions of which are observed with the greatest accuracy. The cathedral may in time be embellished by art, but it will be impossible to remove a striking defect, which is that on entering, a high wall
behind

behind the choir is the first object that presents itself to view, and hides the rest of the church. I was still more astonished at not finding in Valladolid, a great city, the residence of a bishop and chapter, the seat of an university, one of the six great colleges of the kingdom, and one of the two supreme tribunals of Spain, any such thing as a map or chart to be sold, nor a single copy of Don Quixot. But in amends, there are convents in great plenty. At one end of Valladolid is an enormous square, called the *Campo-Grande*, from which are seen thirteen others.

Valladolid is not wholly without manufactures, some stuffs and coarse cloths are made there from the wool of the sheep which are kept in the neighbourhood. There are also gold and silversmiths, and one street is entirely inhabited by jewellers. This is very lively and full of business, as are all the others which terminate in the great square.

Olmedo,

Olmedo is separated from Valladolid by eight leagues of sandy soil. In all this distance there is no other verdure to be seen than that of a dull forest of pines, at first to the left of the road which afterwards passes through it. Valdeffillas is half way, and a league farther on we pass the Duero over a handsome bridge, to the right of which there are some houses underground, and detached vaults, in which the wine made in that part of the country is kept.

Olmedo is seated upon an eminence, in the middle of a plain, which appears almost unbounded on every side, except to the north-east, in which direction are seen some barren hills. This city, which was formerly strong, is still partly enclosed by thick walls three quarters of a league in extent. It has very few inhabitants or manufactures, and its whole internal appearance announces its decay. I will mention but one cause which will also be a proof of its present ruinous condition. There are still seven parishes and as many
con-

convents. A few bricks are made in or near the town, and the inhabitants feed hogs and turkeys. There are some vineyards in the neighbourhood, and a few kitchen gardens under the ancient walls. These constitute all the riches of Olmedo.

Segovia is eleven leagues from Olmedo. The country round this city is the most barren, poor and depopulated part of all Castile. We pass through some towns, such as *Santa Maria de Nieva*, and *Giusti*, and perceive the turrets of the castle of Segovia and the steeple of the cathedral at a considerable distance. The traveller suffers much from impatience before he arrives at this city; he has several circuits to make with many painful and tedious efforts before he has climbed, as it were, up to the square of Segovia.

As he approaches, he sees to the right an old castle, built upon the summit of a steep rock; and to the left, a valley watered by a little river from which it receives its verdure. His imagination is by turns exalted

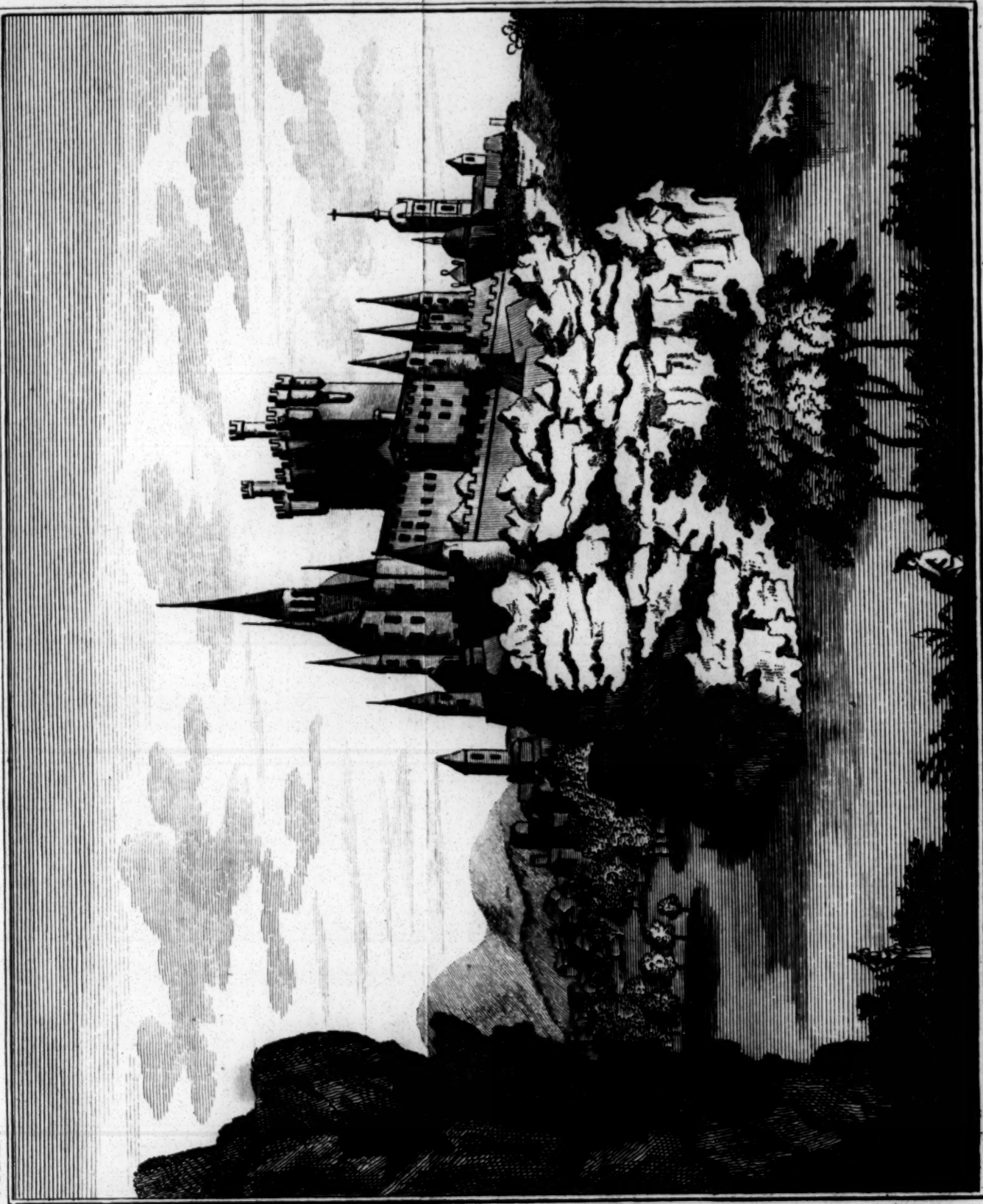
alted and delighted. He forgets the parched and barren country he has passed through, and of which he will find a continuation on leaving Segovia, because he is wholly intent on the fine prospects by which he is surrounded.

Let us now enter this city which formerly was famous on several accounts, and notwithstanding its dirtiness, and the small number of its inhabitants, is still not unworthy the attention of the traveller. Its principal edifices are the cathedral and the castle or Alcazar.

The cathedral is a mixture of the gothic and moorish architecture. The inside is very spacious and of majestic simplicity. The windows are well disposed, and the great altar has been lately decorated with the finest Grenadian marble. It is to be regretted that in this cathedral, as well as in most others of Spain, the choir is placed in the middle of the nave.

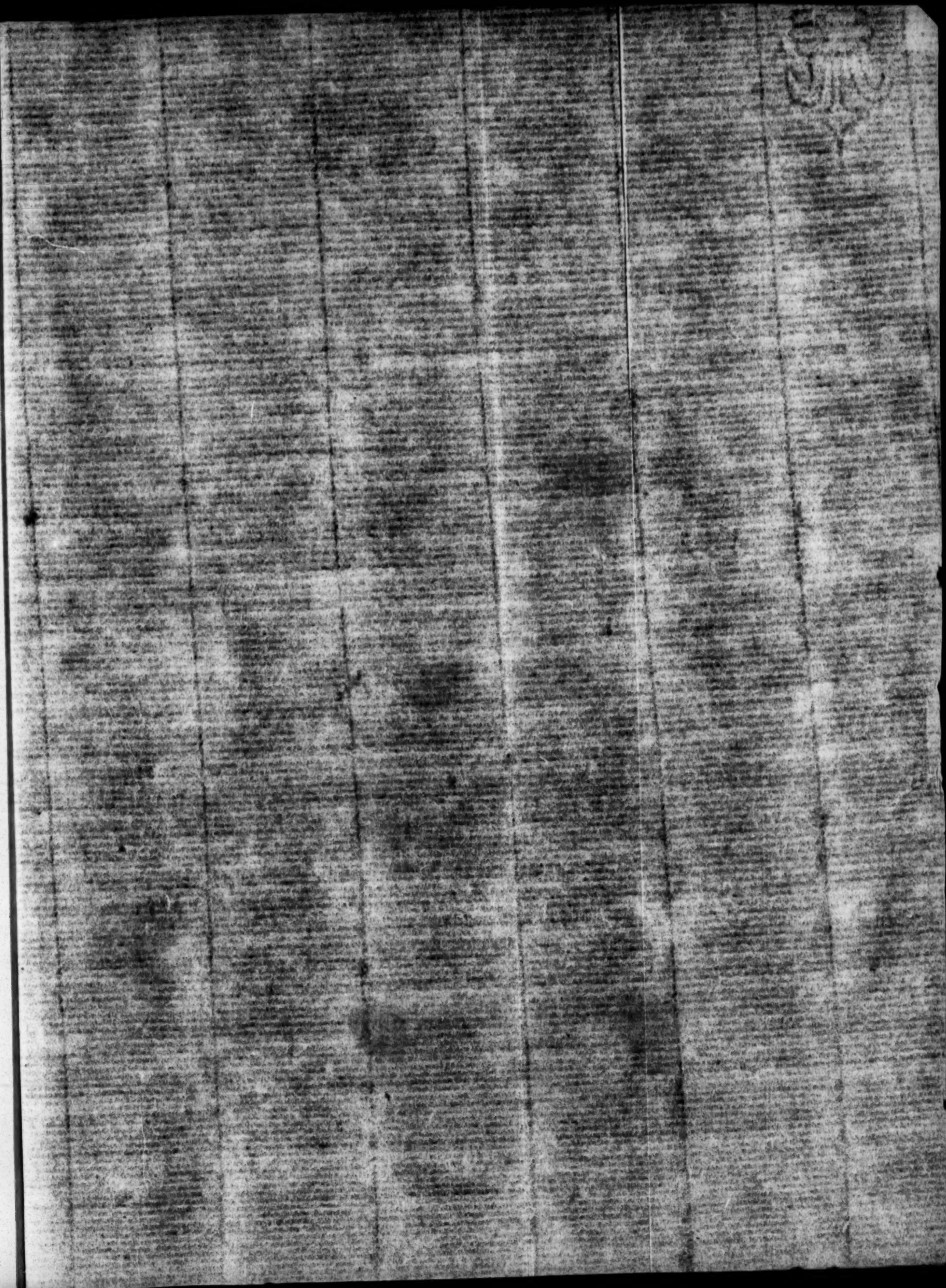
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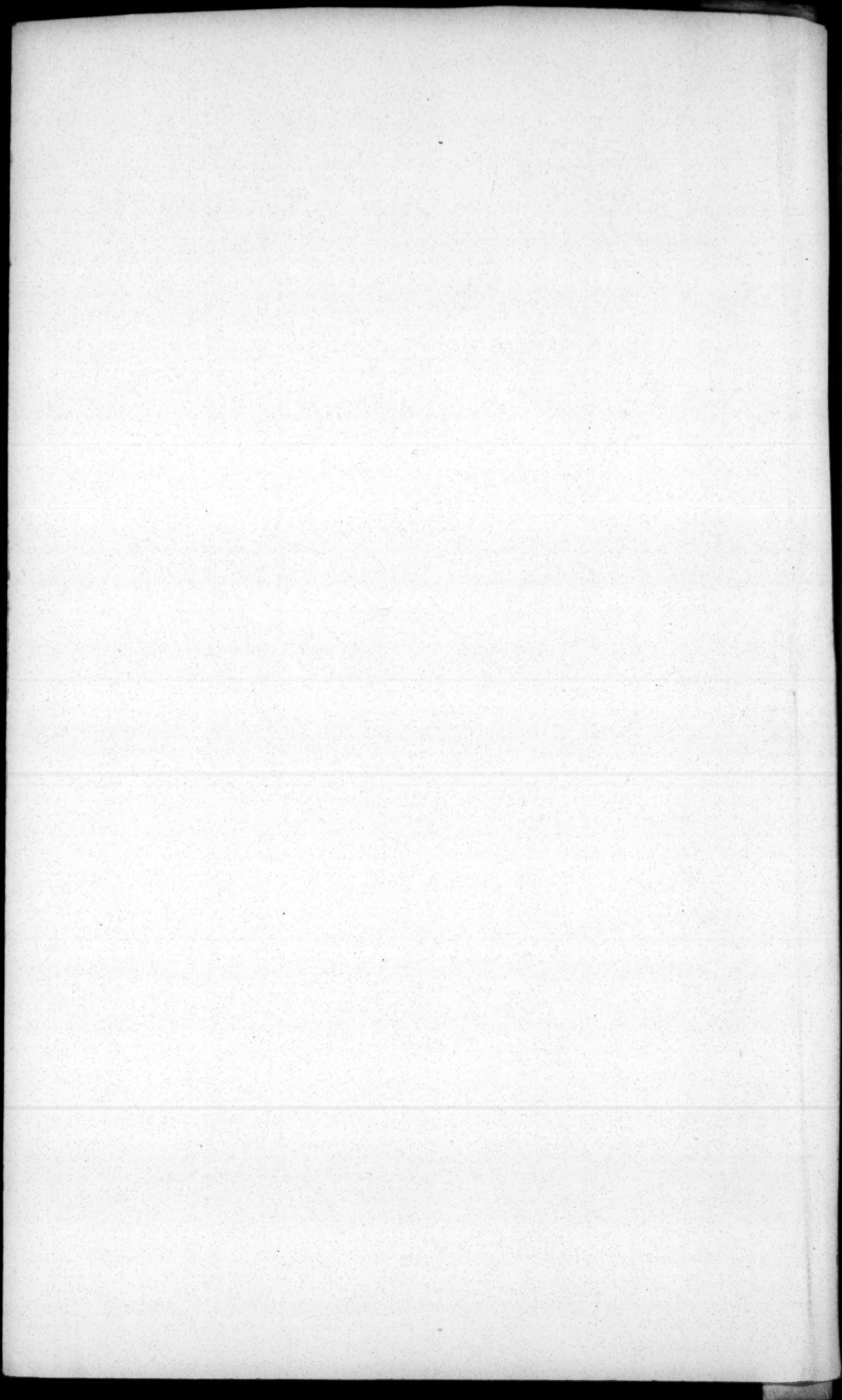
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CASTLE of SEGOVIA or ALCAZAR.

CASTLE of SEGOVIA or ALCAZAR.





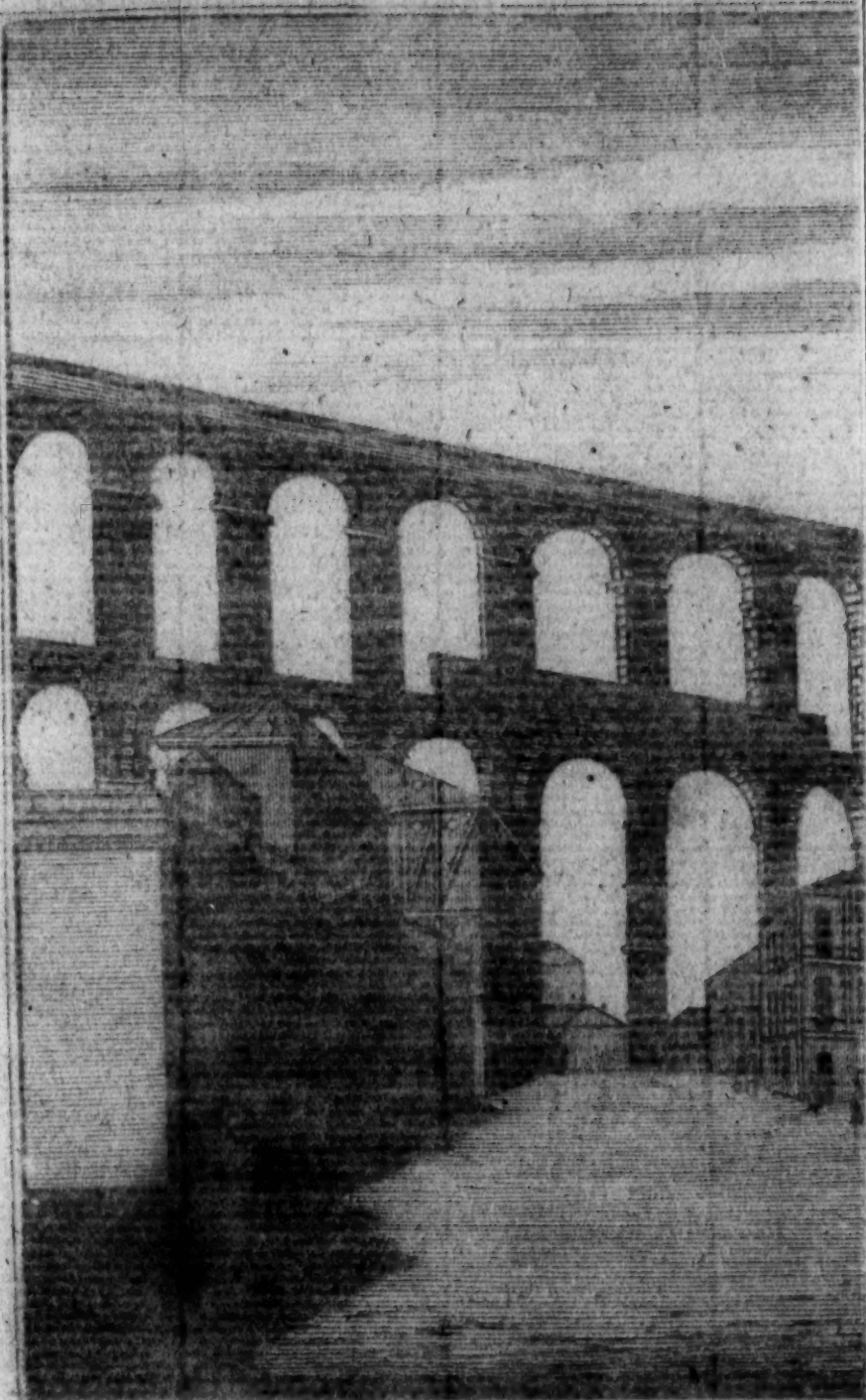
The Alcazar of Segovia, formerly the residence of the Gothic kings, is a well preserved edifice. Within these few years a military school has been established in it, for young gentlemen intended for the artillery. Their education in every particular does the greatest honour to the person who presides over it, the Count de Lacy, inspector general of the department.

The Alcazar was for a long time made use of as a prison for the crews of the barbary corsairs who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. It was impossible to see, without compassion, those robust Moors, condemned to a painful idleness, and devoting themselves to sedentary employments. They were however never treated with rigour, and the court of Spain has restored them to their country since the Spanish monarch has formed connexions with the Emperor.

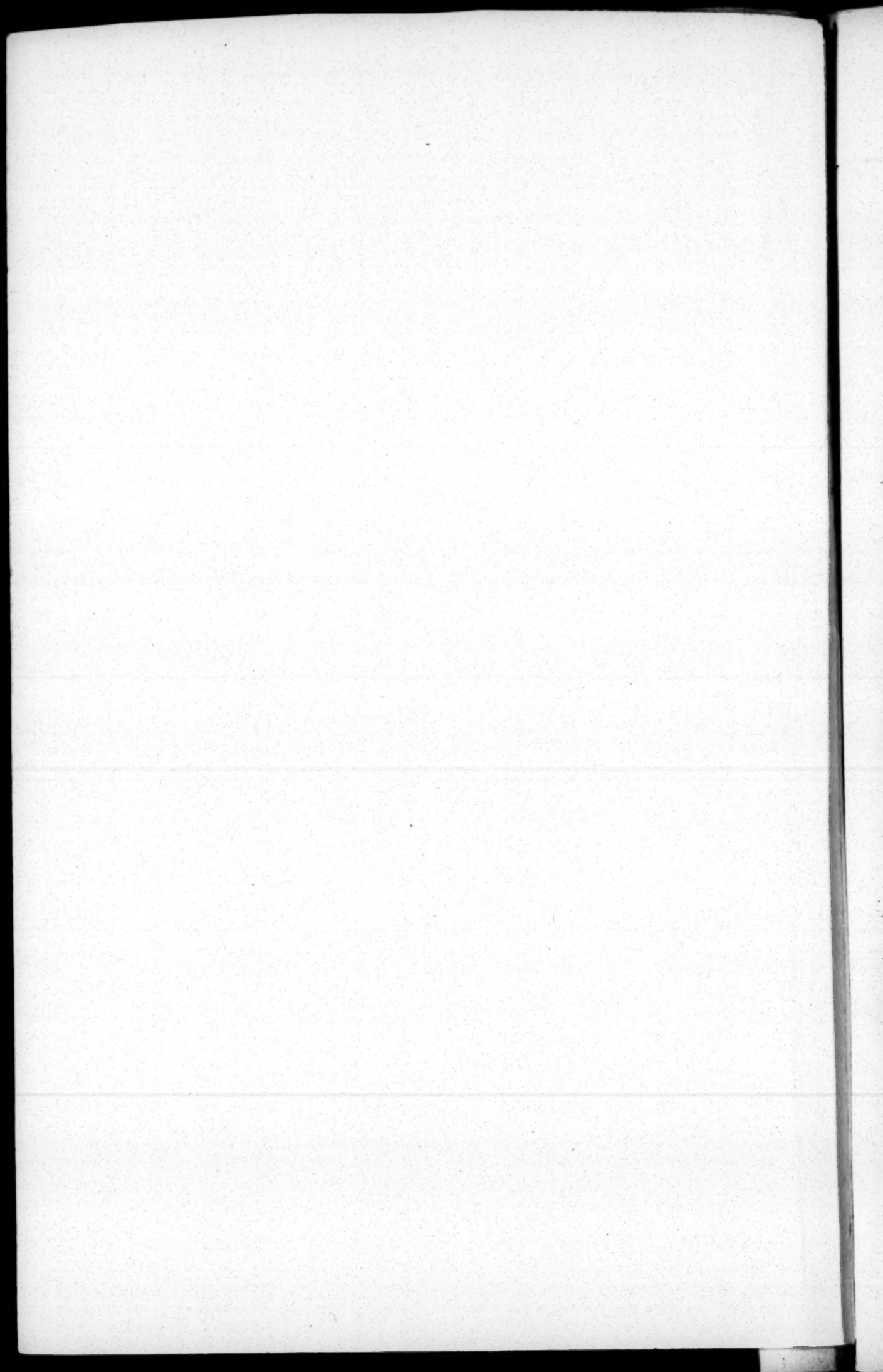
But nothing is more worthy the attention of curiosity at Segovia, than the

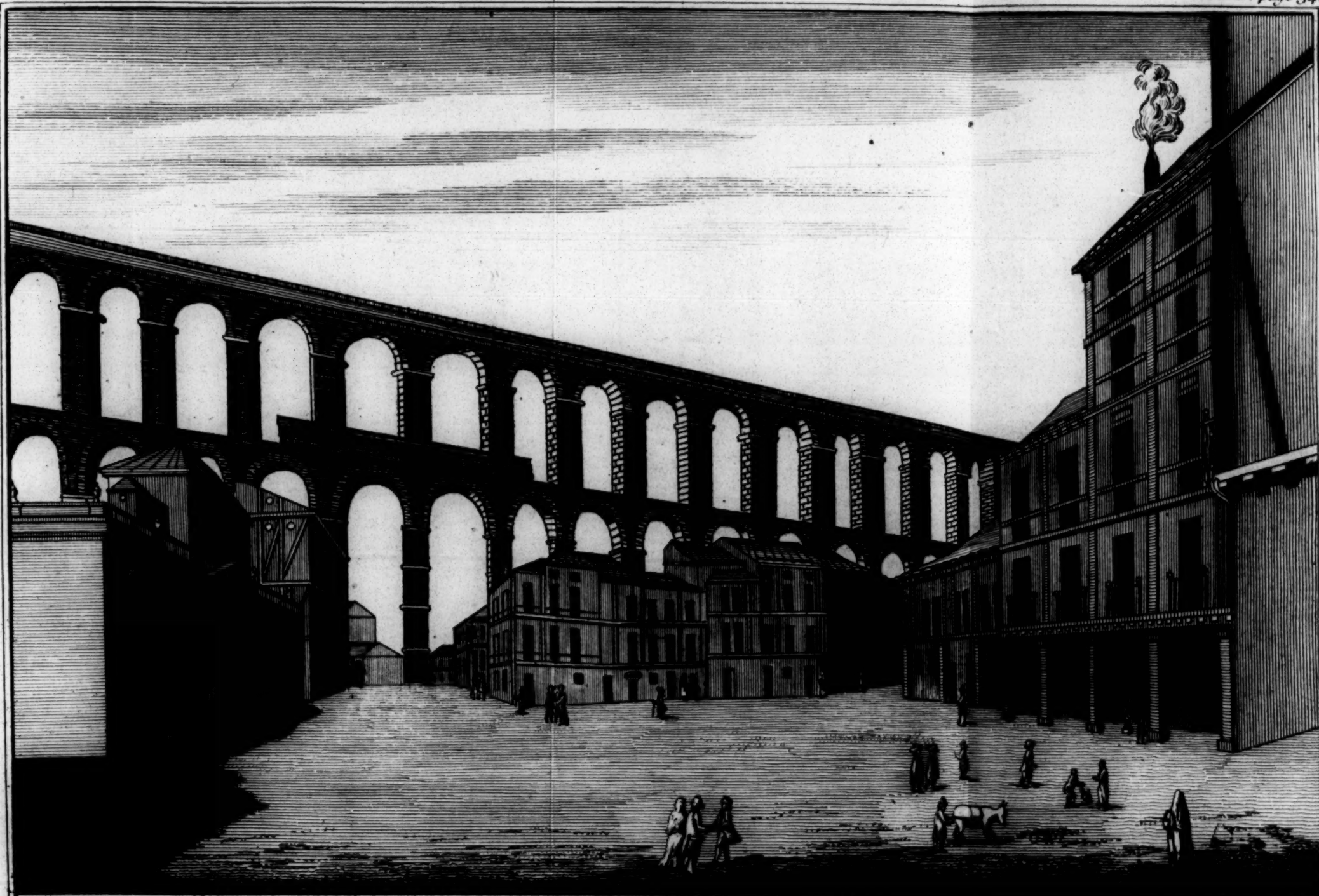
aqueduct which the singular situation of the city renders necessary. Segovia is built upon two hills, and the valley by which they are separated ; it besides extends considerably in every direction.

This position made it very difficult for a part of the citizens to be supplied with water. The difficulty was removed, according to the learned, in the reign of Trajan, by an aqueduct, which until this day is one of the most astonishing, and the best preserved, of the Roman works. It begins on a level with the rivulet it receives, and is, at first, supported by a single line of arches three feet high ; it runs by a gentle ascent to the summit of a hill on the other side of the city, and appears to become more elevated in proportion as the ground over which it is extended declines. At its highest part it has the appearance of a bridge boldly thrown over a prodigious abyss. It has two branches which form an obtuse angle, relatively to the city. It is at this angle

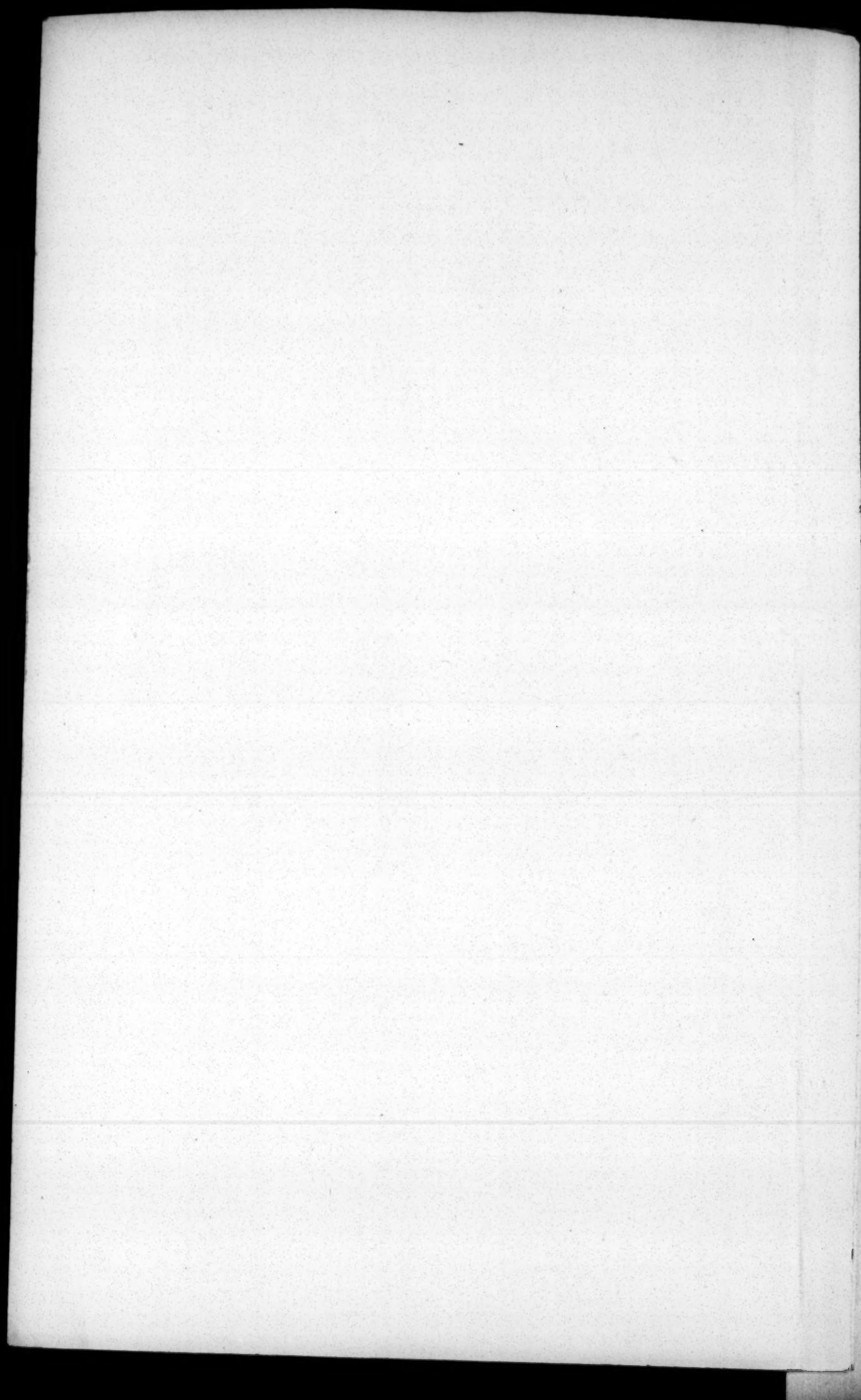


AQUEDUCT of SEGOVIA





AQUEDUCT of SEGOVIA seen from the SQUARE del AZOGUEJO.



gle that it becomes really awful. Two rows of arches rise majestically one above the other, and the spectator feels some impression of fear in comparing their slender base with their amazing height. Its solidity, which has braved upwards of sixteen centuries, seems inexplicable on closely observing the simplicity of its construction. It is composed of square stones, placed one upon another, without any exterior appearance of cement, though we cannot now be certain whether they were really united without this aid, by being cut and placed with peculiar art, or whether the cement has been destroyed by time. It is with regret we see wretched houses reared against the pillars of the arcades, seeking in these durable ruins, a support for their weakness; and, in return for this benefit, degrading a monument which even time has respected; but these scarcely rise to a third of the height of the aqueduct, and serve, at least, to give an appearance of a greater projection to

its awful mass. A small ill-built convent has been erected behind the angle which forms the two branches. But what nation has not been guilty of like profanations? Let those of my countrymen, whose indignation may be excited by this, remember the amphitheatre at Nîmes.

It is needless to observe that the houses near which this beneficent aqueduct passes, lay it under contribution on paying a certain duty, and that it was of the greatest utility to the houses, formerly much more numerous than at present, in which the wools of Segovia were washed and dyed.

The wools, however, have lost nothing of their goodness. The best in Spain are those of the districts of Segovia, those of the country of Buytrago, seven or eight leagues east of Segovia, those of Pedraza to the north; and towards the Douro, those of Avilla and Leon. The accounts which I received in Spain during

during the eighteen years I resided in that kingdom, enabled me to form a judgment of Spanish wool. I shall only present my reader with the most interesting results of my enquiries.

In the first place, it is an almost universal opinion, although combated by several well informed persons, that the wools of Spain do not so much owe their fineness and quality to the temperature of the climate or the nature of the soil on which the sheep are bred, as the custom of driving the flocks to different parts of the country. Two observations, well supported, will, perhaps, be sufficient to invalidate this opinion. The first is, that in Estramadura there are flocks of sheep which are never driven to any other place, yet there is no sensible difference between their wool and that of those which are almost constantly in motion; the second is, that even in the environs of Segovia, there are small flocks which are never driven thence, and

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their wool is as fine as that of those which are. I have been assured by the people of this district, that of the twenty arrobes of fine wool grown there, near a third was produced by the stationary flocks. Whence therefore is derived the custom, so troublesome in various respects, of driving several millions of sheep all over Spain*? From that which causes, propagates and establishes abuses, from the private interest of the great, which, in Spain, gave birth to the ruinous privileges of the Mesta. This is a company of great proprietors

* In the sixteenth century the travelling sheep were estimated at seven millions : under Philip the Third, the number was diminished to two millions and a half. Ustariz, who wrote at the beginning of this century, made it amount to four millions. The general opinion is, that at present it does not exceed five millions. If to this number the eight millions of stationary sheep be added, it will make nearly thirteen million of animals, all managed contrary to the true interests of Spain, for the advantage of a few individuals. For the proprietors of stationary flocks also have privileges, which greatly resemble those of the members of the Mesta.

of

of flocks, composed of rich religious communities, grandees of Spain, and opulent individuals, who find their account in feeding their sheep at the expence of the public in every season of the year, and who, by impolitic laws and regulations, have given sanction to a custom which necessity first established.

The mountains of Soria and Segovia, condemned to sterility by the climate, soil, and the steepness of their sides, were formerly the asylum of some neighbouring flocks. At the approach of winter the place was no longer tenable. The sheep sought, in the circumjacent plains, more temperate air. Their masters soon changed this permission into a right, and united themselves by an association. This company in time became augmented by the addition of others, who, having acquired flocks, were desirous of enjoying the same privileges. The theatre was extended in proportion as the actors became more

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numerous, and, by degrees, the periodical excursions of the flocks were extended to the plains of Estremadura, where the climate was more temperate and pasturage in plenty.

When the abuse began to appear intolerable, it had already taken deep root, and affected the interest of the most powerful citizens. The consequence is, that for more than a century, there has been a continued struggle between the company of the Mesta on one part, and the lovers of public good on the other. If a traveller passes through Spain in the month of October, when the sheep *trashumantes* *, arrive in great numbers in and about the plains of Estremadura and Andalusia; or in the month of May, when they return towards the mountains of old Castile; let him be informed that these animals have the right of pasturage on every common in their way, that the laws annex a breadth

* The Spanish name for the travelling sheep.

of ninety varas * to the road by which they pass; that the pastures which are reserved for them in Estremadura are rented at a very moderate rate, and that the proprietors have for a long time vainly solicited an augmentation of price; and if he be a Frenchman and pretend to the least philosophy, he will not fail to exclaim against such absurdities and barbarous ignorance, forgetting that in his own country, a Spanish traveller would have reason to be still more surprised at the multiplicity of our customs, at the strange and complex administration of our finances, and at the shameful inequality which subsists between the taxes and privileges of two neighbouring provinces, one of which pays an enormous price for salt, at the same time that the other obtains it at a very trifling expence.

* The Spanish *vara* is to the ell of France as 5 to 7; ninety *varas* therefore make about forty toises or fathoms.

The Spaniard would exclaim, from his post-chaise, What little progress has this vain and trifling nation made in the art of government! Why are not the laws, weights and measures the same in every part of the kingdom? Why do not its ministers establish a general and equal impost; which might so easily be effected? A single word from them would be sufficient. On the other hand, the Frenchman would ask, Why the too great number of sheep was not diminished, or at least circumscribed within more narrow bounds? Alas! my dear fellow-citizen, fatigue not your imagination in seeking the means of delivering our allies from the ill consequences of this error. Well informed people of that nation (for of such there are many, notwithstanding what you may say or think to the contrary) have considered this subject before you. Read what has lately been written upon it by the Count de Campomanes, Don Antonio Ponz, and before them by Arriquibar, Lernela, Ustariz, and the laughing philosopher Cervantes,

Cervantes ; who, under the veil of pleafantry, has given fuch wife leffons to mankind, and more efpecially to his fellow-citizens. But that which to you appears fo eafy to eradicate is connected with many circumftances with which you are unacquainted. Without repeating what we have faid concerning the influence of perfons of wealth and power, who in every country have at all times been the greateft obftacles to ufeul reforms, let us confider the reafon why the feeding of fheep is preferred to agriculture. Within the laft hundred years the value of wool has doubled, whilft grain, the cultivation of which requires fo much labour and is fo precarious, has fcarcely rifen at all in price. Ten thoufand head of fheep produce *communibus annis*, two thoufand arrobes or five hundred weight of wool : If we eftimate the arrobe of wool at a hundred rials, or twenty-five livres, thefe ten thoufand fheep will produce fifty thoufand livres, (above two thoufand pounds) from which, indeed the expence of feeding, that of travelling, the rent of
their

their winter pastures, shepherds wages, and other trifling expences, must be deducted, but which leaves a neat produce sufficiently considerable to render this kind of property very valuable. With respect to the custom of making the sheep travel, it must be observed, that besides its being sanctioned by the laws, and having acquired by long custom the nature of a property, several circumstances conspire not only to excuse it, but even, perhaps, to render it necessary. The number of sheep must be diminished, or some of them must wander. Those which during the fine season of the year, feed upon the mountains of Segovia, Soria, Cuenca and Buytrago, would in winter perish with hunger ; and where can a better asylum be found for them than in Estramadura, a province badly peopled, not rich, and where pasturage is the only resource ?

How would it be possible besides to persuade the proprietors of flocks voluntarily to renounce a property easily managed, and

and of which the almost certain produce finds an inexhaustible market in manufacturing countries, where the wools of Spain are so eagerly bought up? It must however be allowed that the Spaniards might still reap greater advantage from this commerce. The French, Dutch, and English go to Bilboa and Saint Ander in search of the wools of Segovia and Leon. They do not even leave to the natives the commission upon the sales. They purchase the wool from the shepherds, and get it washed at their own expence. Of a million of arrobes *, which Spain annually gathers of fine wool, more than five hundred thousand are exported washed, and a lesser quantity in the grease. The duties upon this exportation, which it has not hitherto been thought proper to limit, are cal-

* The arrobe is twenty-five pounds. The middle price of the best wools is from twenty-three to twenty-four livres (20s.) the arrobe in the grease, upon which a duty of five livres ten sols (4s. 7d.) is paid on exportation. The washed arrobe pays double the sum.

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culated at about five millions of livres (about two hundred thousand pounds) another reason for not hastily endeavouring to remedy the abuses complained of by the patriots. Such a resource is not too easily to be abandoned, without having an equivalent at hand. But the government is using means to render the exportation of wool more profitable to the revenue, and to employ a greater quantity of it in the country. All common wools, of which the exportation is prohibited, are, and have for some time been, worked up in Spain to cloath the foldiers and lower classes of people.

Fine wools are also made into cloth in several places, but no where better than at Guadalaxara, the manufactures of which I visited towards the end of the year 1783. I observed with some surprize that the art of manufacturing wool had in several respects made a considerable progress. I say with surprize, because I had so often heard it asserted, that the Spaniards understood nothing of the matter;

ter ; that they knew neither how to card, spin, weave, dye, mill nor calendar ; that their cloths were of a bad texture and wore very badly ; and that the price was exorbitant. How many prejudices of the same nature vanish upon impartial and careful examination ! I shall state but one fact to prove, that what is said of the bad quality of the cloths of Spain is not universally true, and that the Spaniards are in a fair way of wiping off all similar reproaches. I was shewn at Guadalaxara pieces of scarlet cloth, which for colour and quality, appeared to me worthy to be compared to the best cloths of Julien. These are worth thirty-nine livres (1 l. 12s. 6d.) an ell in the town where they are made, and according to the tarif in the manufacture of Guadalaxara, I observed that the price of the finest scarlet was no more than from thirty to thirty-one livres (25s. to 25s. 10d.) an ell. On comparing other articles of the tarif, the same difference appeared between the price of Spanish cloths and those of France, but to the
advan-

advantage of the former. What appears more surprising is, that the manufactures for the king's account were regulated with but little oeconomy, and that of Guadalaxara with still less. Since I was there some alteration has been made, which will improve the operations, and be the means of reducing the price of the productions. This, however, was one of the most complete manufactories any where to be met with ; it contained, within a small space, all the instruments and machines necessary for making cloth, except the thin smooth paste-board which is put between the folds of a piece of cloth before it goes into the press ; this was imported from England, the rest was the production of the place, not even excepting the shears with which cloths are shorn. There were eighty looms for the cloths of the first quality, properly called cloths of *San Fernando*, from the place where they were first manufactured ; a hundred for those of the second quality, and five hundred and six for serges, with which the Spaniards
hope

hope to do in time without those of England *. These looms, contained in two buildings, employed three thousand eight hundred and twenty-five persons, all paid by the king †, besides near forty thousand dispersed over the countries of Mancha and the Castiles, who spun the wool intended to be manufactured at Guadaxara. The oeconomical administration excepted, I am of opinion that it would be difficult to find a manufacture better established. The city, wherein it is carried on, forms a striking contrast with those in the neighbourhood. I saw not one beggar or idle person among the fifteen or sixteen thousand inhabitants it contains. Such is the advantage of manufactures, and especially those of cloth ;

* It was calculated at the time here referred to, that Spain annually paid to England two millions sterling for woollen articles alone.

† His catholic majesty furnished from his treasury, for the support of this manufactory, a hundred and fifty thousand livres a month ; an exorbitant sum, which possibly might not be returned by the sale of the cloths.

that they afford many trifling employments of which children and the aged and infirm are capable. These are aids which the arts offer to weak or suffering humanity, to those whom nature seemed to have condemned to inutility and a burdensome languor. We must, however relate the whole truth ; the Spaniards in general confess themselves inferior in the arts of dying and milling their cloths ; but as they possess the first materials, as well for manufacturing as for dying, a few persons skilled in these two arts would be sufficient to carry several of their manufactures to the greatest perfection, and the present government neglects no means to procure them.

Guadalaxara is also the only place in Spain where the famous cloths of Vigonia are made ; a valuable commodity which the rest of the globe must envy Spanish America *. As this kind of cloth

* The wool is obtained from the province of Buenos-

cloth is not yet much in use, the manufacture of it is not regularly continued. It is difficult even to procure a few ells of it, without having given for them a previous order of some months. Some of this cloth also is made for the king of Spain, who makes presents of it to different sovereigns. In 1782, his majesty sent twenty pieces to the grand seignior, immediately after the treaty which he had just concluded with the Port. They were very well received; and it was said, on this occasion, that Spain would not be sorry to give the Turks an inclination for their cloths. Manufacturing nations were a little alarmed at this, but perhaps without much reason. The Spanish government is too wise to undertake to rival these nations in such a commerce, until it is enabled, from its manufactures, to supply the twenty millions of subjects in its own dominions. Spain knows how far she yet is from

Buenos-Ayres and from Peru; that of the first is longer, but the other is more silky.

such a state of prosperity. The manufactory of Guadalajara finds in that of Brissuega, at four leagues distance, a kind of assistant. The latter contains a hundred looms, all employed in weaving cloths of the first quality.

Segovia, which has ever been famous for the goodness of its wool, was formerly not less so for the number and perfection of its manufactures. It is fallen from its ancient splendour to a degree afflicting to every friend of his country. In 1785, the number of looms did not exceed two hundred and fifty.

The most considerable of its manufactories was that of Ortiz, established in 1779, under the name of The Royal Manufactory; the king allows a certain sum to be employed in it. Ortiz furnished employment, in 1785, for three thousand persons in Segovia and the environs, and had sixty-three looms at work, in which cloths of every quality, from pieces, which according to the ordinances, contain

tain two thousand threads, to those of four thousand, were manufactured. The idleness of the inhabitants of that city was the only obstacle to an industry which might otherwise have been considerable, the privileges by which the minister wished to encourage the first undertakings are not burthensome to the rest of the manufacturers. They all sell in competition at a price by no means exorbitant. The dearest cloths in the month of September, 1785, cost no more than ninety rials a vara, which is nearly thirty-one livres ten sols (26s. 3d.) an ell.

Ideas may be formed of every thing relative to the Spanish sheep and their precious spoils, without going far from Segovia,

It is in the neighbouring mountains that a part of the wandering sheep feed during the fine season. They leave them in the month of October, pass over those which separate the two Castiles, cross New Castile and disperse themselves in

the plains of Estramadura and Andalusia. For some years past those of the two Castiles, which are within reach of the Sierra-Morena, go thither to pass the winter; which, in that part of Spain, is more mild: the length of their day's journey is in proportion to the pasture they meet with. They travel in flocks from a thousand to twelve hundred in number, under the conduct of two shepherds; one of whom is called the *Mayoral*, the other the *Zagal*. When arrived at the place of their destination, they are distributed in the pastures previously assigned them. They return in the month of April; and whether it be habit or natural instinct that draws them towards the climate, which at this season becomes most proper for them, the inquietude which they manifest might, in case of need, serve as an almanack to their conductors.

While on their return, in the month of May, they are shorn, an operation of considerable magnitude in Spain, because

cause there it is performed in great buildings contrived so as to receive whole flocks of forty, fifty and sometimes sixty thousand sheep*. The harvest and vintage in corn and wine countries are not seasons of greater festivity. The sheep-sheering is a time of rejoicing, both to the owner and workmen. The latter are divided into classes, each of which has its distinct employment. A hundred and twenty-five workmen are necessary to every thousand sheep. Each sheep produces four sorts of wool, more or less fine according to the part from whence it is taken. In the neighbourhood of Se-

* Each flock, belonging to one proprietor, is called a *cavana*, which is pronounced *cavanya*; they take the name of their proprietors. The most numerous *cavanas* are those of Bejar and Negretti, each of which consist of sixty thousand sheep. In that of the Escorial, one of the most famous, there are fifty thousand. Prejudice or custom gives a preference to the wool of one *cavana* to that of another. Thus, for instance, no wools, except those of the *cavanas* of Negretti, the Escorial and Paular, are made use of at Guadalaxara.

govia there are several shearing houses (*Esquileos*). One of the most remarkable is that of Iturvieta.

When the shearing is finished, the wool is made up in bags and sent to the sea ports, where it is shipped without any other preparation, or to the washing or scowering places in different parts of Castile. There are several in the district of Segovia. I particularly examined one of the most considerable, that of Ortijosa, three leagues from St. Ildefonso. I was there convinced that this operation, imperfect as it appears at first sight, because foreign manufacturers repeat it before they make use of the wool, sufficiently answers the intention, which is to preserve the wool, so that it shall not be possible for the longest voyage to alter its quality.

All the wool used in the royal manufactory of Guadalaxara is scowered in this quarter. The quantity annually scowered here is about forty thousand arrobes

arrobes (or five hundred ton) which by this operation is reduced to the half. The situation could not have been better chosen; it is very spacious, and forms a kind of bason, the inner divisions of which are meadows, on an easy declivity, which terminate in a common center, and are open to the rays of the sun in every direction.

The wool is carried thither in the state it was when taken from the sheep: each fleece is as it was first made up. In this form it is given to the *Apartadores*, who divide it into three heaps of different qualities. They are so accustomed to this business, which requires a long apprenticeship, that they can tell, at first sight, from what part of the animal each flock of wool has been taken. These three sorts thus separated are extended upon wooden hurdles, where they are spread, beaten and cleansed from the dust and dirt adhering to them; they are afterwards taken to the washing place.

As

As soon as the water in the great copper is on the point of boiling, it is let out by two great spigots that open or shut certain pipes by which it is conveyed into three square wells, lined with hewn stone, and about three or four feet deep. The hot water falls upon a bed of wool, which covers the bottom of the well. The wool thus disposed is turned in every direction by three men. Each sort of wool is washed separately; and, according to its fineness, requires the water to be more or less heated.

After this first operation, the wool is again spread upon hurdles, to drain off the water, and with it the filth, which it has begun to dissolve. The coarse locks are also separated from the rest, and sold for the benefit of the souls in purgatory; for, in Spain, religion is connected with every thing. The Spaniards mean to sanctify by this association, frequently not a little ridiculous, their occupations, riches, and even their
plea-

pleasures. The motive, however chimerical, is amiable; the design, commendable. Pity it is that as much cannot be said of the means. But let us return to our subject.

The hurdles upon which the wool is spread out, are placed in an interval of three or four feet, which separates the stone-wells from the narrow aqueduct, also of stone, through which runs a stream of cold water. A man placed at the entrance of the aqueduct receives the wool, and throws it in; while five men, who stand by the side below the first man, press and rub it with their feet as it passes, and send it from one to the other. Still lower down are other workmen who stop it in its passage, and throw it on a stone slope, where it drains, while the water runs off into a gutter contrived below the slope. A net, placed at the extremity of the little aqueduct, retains the locks, which, from time to time, are carried away by the rapidity of the current.

When

When the wool is well drained, it is spread upon the declivity of the meadows which we have before-mentioned, and four fine sunny days are scarcely sufficient to dry it thoroughly. When it is quite dry it is put into bags to be carried away. Initial letters upon the bags indicate the sort of wool contained in each; and, besides these, there is a mark which distinguishes the flock by which it was furnished; so that a connoisseur, who saw the bags, would say, that is fine or superfine wool of the Escorial, Negretti, or Bejar flocks.

I make no apology for these details; they may furnish our proprietors of sheep with useful knowledge, as well as give hints to our manufacturers of the use to be made of our wools, or at least inspire them with emulation, and indicate to them the means of improvement. They may moreover serve, in many respects, to vindicate the Spaniards from the charge of idleness and ignorance, which has so frequently been brought

brought against them. Consequently I merely pay a tribute due to justice.

I shall now leave Segovia and its environs, and conduct my reader to the castle of St. Ildefonso, which is only two leagues from it. The high mountains which command it are seen at a great distance, and scarcely has the traveller quitted Segovia before he discovers the castle itself, which the rising or sinking of the road, from time to time, conceals or discovers. Appearances by no means announce the residence of a great court. The country is barren, and a few wretched hamlets, at small distances, give no idea of the enlivening presence of the monarch. Nor would it be suspected, that in that spacious and naked horizon, there were manufactures of various kinds, such as of paper, cloth, and glass, or that the environs of St. Ildefonso were decorated with rivulets, cultivated fields, meadows, and clumps of green oaks; nor, after having seen all these, is it possible to conceive that

that the result should be so poor and dismal. This must first be attributed to the nature of the soil and the situation of that part of Castile, surrounded by mountains, and without roads, canals, or navigable rivers. But it must be more particularly ascribed to the numerous herds of deer which live in peace in this district, and never have their repose disturbed by the royal huntsmen who pass there about three months in the year, and appear more disposed to preserve than to destroy them.

The country, however, becomes more beautiful as we approach St. Ildefonso; a number of rivulets meander through the fresh verdure, and the deer wander in herds in the copses, or bound upon the hills in a security which could not be expected in those timid animals; the tops of a few handsome houses appear above the green oaks; and the group, formed by the castle and the adjoining edifices, crowned by mountains, some naked, others covered to their
sum-

summits with trees and shrubs, presents a very pleasing prospect. At length we arrive at the gate fronting the royal residence, and which is separated from it by a spacious court in form of a glacis.

The whole bears some resemblance to Versailles, which, although imperfect, cannot but be pleasing to a Frenchman. He, at first, imagines that Philip V, who built St. Ildefonso, wished to have about his person such objects as might recall to his recollection the abode which was so dear to him in his early youth. He seems to have had the same intention in establishing his military household.

Of the old guards of the kings of Spain there remains but one company of halbardiers, which may be compared to that of the hundred Swiss. Philip V, established three companies of body guards, each of two hundred men, modelled, with respect to form and cloathing, after those of the French court.

Two

Two regiments, which guard the exterior of the castle, that of the Spanish guards, and the regiment of Walloons, are also perfect copies of our regiments of French and Swiss guards. A company is detached from each of them to do duty wherever the court resides.

The command of each of these six military corps which form the interior and exterior guard of the kings of Spain, is given to the most distinguished persons of the nation. The commander of the halbardiers is always a grandee of Spain. The captain of the Spanish company of body guards is one of the most illustrious families. That of the Italian company is generally an Italian nobleman, and the captain of the Flemish corps is either a noble Fleming, or some stranger of rank. The same rule is observed with respect to the Walloons. The captain of the Spanish guards is always chosen from the most distinguished grandees of Spain.

This

This resemblance to our court, observed at St. Ildefonso, which makes a Frenchman recollect Versailles, is like a diminutive shade in painting, and smoothes the passage from one court to the other, so that when arrived at St. Ildefonso, you are tempted to believe that you are but half the distance by which they are separated.

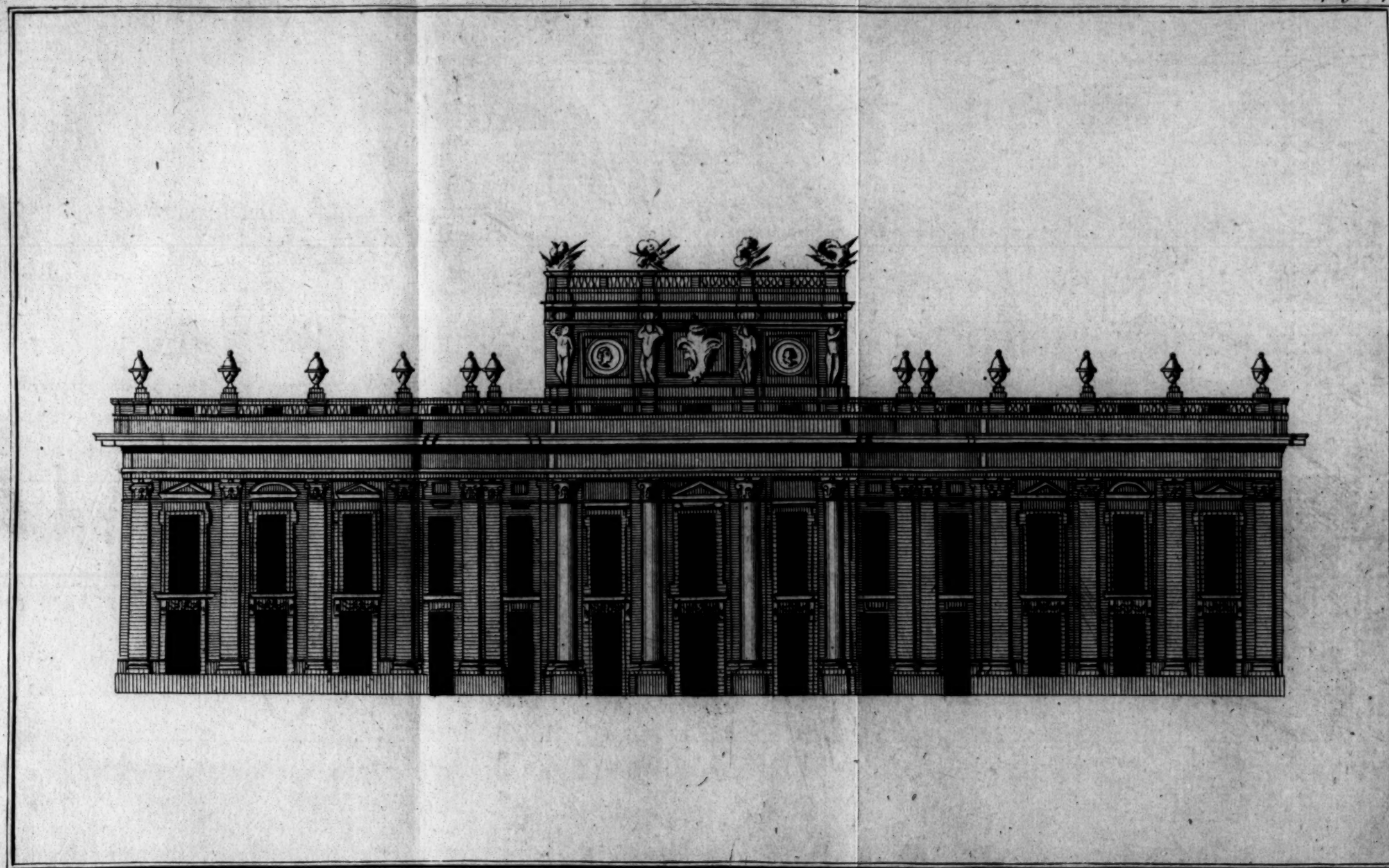
The proofs of the predilection which Philip V. had for this place of royal residence have survived him. His remains are deposited in a chapel within the castle. I visited this mausoleum, which has something awful in its simplicity.

The appearance of the tomb which contains an illustrious person, always excites serious reflection. What then must be the impression made by that of a prince, whose reign holds so distinguished a place in modern history, and forms the epocha of the last exploits of Louis XIV, and of his greatest

disasters ; of a prince for whose interests Europe was agitated by three wars within less than half a century ; and whom the conquest of the greatest monarchy in the world could not render happy. At least the gloomy melancholy which obscured the last years of his life, proved that the most brilliant successes of ambition are ever followed by satiety and languor. What a subject for philosophical reflections upon the vanity of human greatness !

After having indulged my mind with these at the foot of the tomb of Philip, I went to visit the enchanting abode which he prepared for himself in the midst of a solitary wood, and in the bosom of steep mountains. There is nothing magnificent in the palace, particularly in its exterior appearance. The front on the side of the garden is of the Corinthian order, and not destitute of elegance. Here are the king's apartments, which look upon a parterre surrounded with vases and marble statues

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PALACE of SAINT ILDEFONSO seen from the GARDENS.

tues, and a cascade which, for the richness of its decorations, may be compared with the finest of the kind.

The purity and clearness of the water is indeed incomparable. Philip V, could not, in this respect, be better served by nature. From the mountains which shade the palace, descend several rivulets, which supply the reservoirs. These waters answer the double purpose of supplying numerous fountains, and of diffusing life and verdure through the magnificent gardens, the sight of which alone is a sufficient recompense for a journey into Spain. They are on the inside a league in circumference. The inequality of the ground affords every moment new points of view. The principal alleys answer to different summits of neighbouring mountains; and one in particular produces the most agreeable effect. It is terminated at one end by the grand front of the palace. From this point are seen, at one view, five fountains, ornamented with elegant groups,

groups, rising into an amphitheatre, above which appear the summits of lofty mountains. The most elevated of these groups is that of Andromeda fastened to a rock. When seen at a little distance it is perhaps defective, because the rock appears too diminutive by the side of the monster which threatens Andromeda; and of Perseus, by whom it is attacked; but the whole contributes to the beauty of the view. The most remarkable of the five groups is that of Neptune.

Genius presided at the composition and in the choice of the situation; the deity of the ocean appears erect, surrounded by his marine court. His attitude, his threatening countenance, and the manner of holding his trident, announce that he has just imposed silence on the mutinous waves; and the calm which reigns in the basin, defended from every wind by the triple wall of verdure, by which it is surrounded, seem to indicate that he has not issued his
com-

commands in vain. Often have I seated myself, with Virgil in my hand, by the side of this silent water, under the shade of the verdant foliage, nor ever did I fail to recollect the famous *Quos Ego!*

There are other fountains worthy of the attention of the curious; such as that of Latona, where the limpid sheaves, some perpendicularly, and others in every direction, fall from the hoarse throats of the Lycian peasants, half transformed into frogs, and spouting them forth in such abundance, that the statue of the Goddess disappears under the wide mantle of liquid crystal; that also of Diana in the bath, surrounded by her nymphs; in the twinkling of an eye all the chaste court is hidden beneath the waters; the spectator imagines he hears the whistling of aquatic birds, and the roaring of lions from the place whence this momentary deluge escapes by a hundred canals. The fountain of Fame is formed by a single
F 3 jet-

jet-d'eau, which rises a hundred and thirty feet, exhibiting to the distance of several leagues round the triumph of art over nature, and falls in a gentle shower upon the gazing spectators. There are some situations in the gardens of St. Ildefonso, whence the eye takes in the whole of the greater part of these fountains, and where the ear is delighted with the harmony of their murmurs. The traveller who wishes to charm all his senses at once, must take his station on the high flat ground in front of the king's apartment. In the thick part of the foliage are contrived two large arbours, from the top of which are seen twenty crystal columns rising into the air to the height of the surrounding trees, mixing their resplendent whiteness with the verdure of the foliage, uniting their confused noise to the rustling of the branches, and refreshing and embalming the air; if the traveller here experience no pleasing sensations, let him return home, he is utterly incapable of

of feeling either the beauties of art or nature.

The reader may here imagine my enthusiasm too extravagant. He is mistaken; let him follow me to the great reservoir of abundant and limpid waters. He will have to climb for some minutes, but will not regret the trouble he has taken. Let us suppose ourselves arrived at the long and narrow alley which takes up the whole of the upper part of the gardens; proceed to the middle, and turn your face toward the castle. To the vast horizon around you, no other boundaries are discovered but those which limit the human sight; these alone prevent you from discovering the Pyrenees. Observe the steeple which seems but a point in the immense extent: you will perhaps imagine it to be that of the parish church of St. Ildefonso; but, in reality, it is the cathedral of Segovia, at two leagues distance. The gardens, through which you have passed, become narrower to the eye. You

suppose yourself close to the royal habitation; the alleys, fountains, and parterres have all disappeared; you see but one road which, in the form of a vessel, upon the prow of which you seem to stand, has its stern on the top of the palace. Afterward turn and take a view of the little lake behind you, of which the irregular borders do not, like what we call our English gardens, merely ape the disorder of Nature. Nature herself has traced them, except on the side where you stand. This straight alley is united at each end to the curve which surrounds the reservoir. The waters, which stream in abundance from the sides of the mountain in front, meet in this reservoir, and thence descend by a thousand invisible tubes, to other reservoirs, whence they are spouted in columns or sheets upon the flowery soil to which they were strangers. The birds, drawn by their clearness, come to skim and agitate their crystal. The image of the tufted woods which surround them is reflected from their immovable

moveable surface, as is also that of some simple and rural houses, thrown, as by accident, into this delightful picture, which Lorrain would have imitated, but, perhaps, could not have imagined. The opposite bank is obscured by thick shades. Some hollows overshadowed by arching trees, seem to be the asylums of the Naiades. Disturb them not by indiscreet loquacity, but silently admire and meditate.

It is impossible, however, not to go to the source of these waters; let us follow the meandering of their course, and observe the winding paths which there terminate, after appearing and disappearing at intervals through the copse. Let us listen to the bubbling of the rivulets which, from time to time, escape from our sight, and hasten to the rendezvous assigned them by the descendants of Louis XIV. They formerly lost themselves in the valleys, where they quenched the thirst of the humble inhabitants, but are now consecrated to
the

the pleasures of kings. Ascending the back of the pyramidical mountain, behind which their source is concealed, we arrive at the wall which confines a part of them in the garden, and which was hidden by the trees; nothing however, ought here to recall to mind, exclusive property and slavery. Woods, waters, and the majestic solitude of mountains, which are at a distance from the tumult of courts and cities, are the property of every man.

Beyond this wall, which forms the exterior enclosure of the gardens, is an empty and flat ground, where the infant Don Louis brother to the king, chose a place which he consecrated to cultivation. Farther on the mountain becomes more steep, and is covered with trees to its summit. Let us now return; as we seek amusement and not fatigue. We will follow the course of the waters, they descend in bubbling streams from one level of the gardens to the other. In their course, in one place they

they water the feet of the trees, in others they cross an alley to nourish more slowly the plants of a parterre. From the bason of Andromeda they run between two rows of trees in the form of a canal, the too sudden inclination of which is taken off by cascades and windings. They receive and carry with them from the gardens the rivulets, which, after having played amongst the gods and nymphs, and moistened the throats of the swans, tritons and lions, humbly descend underground, and run on into the bosom of the neighbouring meadows, where they fulfill purposes less brilliant but more useful.

We must not quit these magnificent gardens without stopping at a place which appears to promise much but produces not any very great effect. This is the square of the eight allies, *Plaza de las ocho calles*. In the center is the group of Pandora, the only one which is of whitened stone, all the others are of white marble or lead painted of a bronze colour.

colour. Eight alleys answer to this center, and each is terminated by a fountain. Plats of verdure fill up the intervals between the alleys, and each has an altar under a portico of white marble by the side of a bason sacred to some god or goddess. These eight altars, placed at equal distances and decorated, among other jets-d'eau, have two which rise in the form of tapers on each side of their divinities. This cold regularity displeased Philip V. who a little before his death, when visiting the gardens, made some severe reproaches to the inventor upon the subject. Philip had not the pleasure of completely enjoying what he had created; death surprised him when the works he had begun were but half finished. The undertaking was however the most expensive one of his reign. The finances of Spain, so deranged under the princes of the house of Austria, thanks to the wise calculations of Orry, to the subsidies of France, and still more to the courageous efforts of the faithful Castilians, would have been sufficient

sufficient for three long and ruinous wars, and for all the operations of a monarchy which Philip V. had conquered and formed anew, as well as to have resisted the shocks of ambition and political intrigue; but they sunk beneath the expensive efforts of magnificence.

It is singular that the castle and gardens of St. Ildefonso should have cost about forty-five millions of piastres, precisely the sum in which Philip died indebted. This enormous expence will appear credible when it is known that the situation of the royal palace was at the beginning of this century the sloping top of a pile of rocks; that it was necessary to dig and hew out the stones, and in several places to level the rock; to cut out of its sides a passage for a hundred different canals, to carry vegetative earth to every place in which it was intended to substitute cultivation for sterility, and to work a mine to clear a passage to the roots of the numerous trees which are there planted. All these efforts

efforts were crowned with success. In the orchards, kitchen gardens and parterres there are but few flowers, espaliers or plants which do not thrive; but the trees naturally of a lofty growth, and which consequently must strike their roots deep into the earth, already prove the insufficiency of art when it attempts to struggle against nature. Many of them languish with withered trunks and with difficulty keep life in their almost naked branches. Every year it is necessary to call in the aid of gun-powder to make new beds for those which are to supply their place; and none of them are covered with that tufted foliage which belongs only to those that grow in a natural soil. In a word, there are in the groves of St. Ildefonso, marble statues, basons, cascades, limpid waters, verdure and delightful prospects, every thing but that which would be more charming than all the rest, thick shades.

The court of Spain comes hither annually during the heat of the dog days.

It

It arrives towards the end of July and returns at the beginning of October. The situation of St. Ildefonso, upon the declivity of the mountains which separate the two Castiles, and fronting a vast plain where there is no obstacle to the passage of the north wind, renders this abode delightful in summer. The mornings and evenings of the hottest days are agreeably cool. Yet as this palace is upwards of twenty leagues from Madrid*, and half of the road which leads to it crosses the broad tops of mountains, extremely steep in many places, it is much more agreeable to the lovers of the chace and solitude than to others. I arrived there at a time as brilliant for the court of Charles III. as it was flattering to that monarch. He expected the arrival of one of his august nephews, the

* Fourteen Spanish leagues, seventeen and a half to a degree. These fourteen make upwards of twenty of those of France (and above fifty-five English miles). It is a great effort to perform this journey in six hours with mules which are much more swift than our best post-horses.

count d'Artois, who allured by the glory promised to the besiegers of Gibraltar, was going to give new lustre to victory by his presence and share in the laurels. It is well known how abortive these splendid expectations proved by a fatality which renders vain the projects even of kings. The amiable brother of our sovereign, while making every exertion in his power, could only shew his courage and his love for his country. The zealous ardour with which he passed the Pyrenees excited all the enthusiasm of admiration and love. I had the happiness of being every where a witness to it in my journey through Biscay and Castile; he was impatiently expected day after day. Every person I met enquired of me concerning him; and I was joyfully received as one of his fore-runners. The people imagined, because I was a Frenchman, I must know and love him. Since the conquest of Spain by the house of Bourbon, this was the first time that one of the supporters of the ancient throne had approached the new one.

The

The Spanish monarch, to whom, in the midst of royal occupations and political cares, the sentiments of nature have ever been dear, expected his nephew with the impatience of a father. In his manner of receiving him the courtiers knew not whether they should most admire his magnificence or the proofs of his affection. The foresight of the sovereign extended to his passing the Pyrenees, and he seemed to have communicated to all his subjects both his joy and impatience. How amiably did the youthful prince return these homages of the heart; and how well was his gratitude seconded by the friends who accompanied him! At Segovia he found the king's guards who conducted him in triumph to the palace, amid the thunder of artillery, the beating of drums and the acclamations of the court and people. An affecting interview succeeded to this ceremonious pomp. The oldest monarch in Europe pressed to his bosom the amiable heir to his name. Tears fell from his eyes; and affection, united with dignity, proved to

every spectator that the habit of greatness deprives not all hearts of tenderness, and that Nature ever has her irresistible claims. The count d'Artois, and those who accompanied him, were lodged in the palace. The whole household was at his command ; but care was taken that those about his person should, by their manners and language, recall to his mind a faint idea of the court he had quitted. These attentions had no bounds but that of the desire of leaving a young prince at full liberty, which is far preferable to all the vain homages of ceremony. The king of Spain himself leads a very regular life ; some certain employment is assigned to every hour of the day ; yet nothing was deranged on account of his nephew's arrival. Hunting, fishing, his devotions and his business with the ministers were all continued as usual. The count d'Artois, on his part, knew how to enjoy the liberty granted him. With the docility of any less illustrious pupil ; he submitted himself to the

the care of the count of Montmorin, ambassador of the king his brother.

I saw but little of the count, who was wholly employed in the honourable task imposed upon him; but according to every thing I heard, I judged that it could not be better executed, nor the interest of the king better attended to than by this nobleman. He would have been every where well placed. He was particularly so in Spain, a nation in general little prejudiced in our favour. We have however proved to the Spaniards in his person, that the French also are susceptible of gravity unaccompanied by pedantry, that they may possess wisdom without austerity, dignity without pride, and prudence without timidity. Treated by the Spanish monarch and all his august family, with the greatest kindness and respect he conciliated to himself the confidence of the ministers, the esteem of the great, and the good-will of the people. The national character is somewhat cold, and not

too prodigal of the tokens of its benevolence ; but persons of merit are therefore the more flattered in receiving them ; and I never yet have met with any one who knew the Spaniards intimately without having conceived for them a strong and lasting esteem. There is no court in Europe where the persons of ambassadors are more generally known. In other courts they are seldom communicated with except upon the affairs with which they are charged. At that of Madrid, they are constantly before the eyes of the monarch, especially the family ambassadors. Every morning as soon as the king returns from hunting, or has finished the business which prevents his taking that diversion every day, he receives those of his ministers who have any thing to communicate to him ; these are succeeded by his confessor. After this audience the family ambassadors are introduced ; and in these secret conferences, it is said, the most delicate affairs are frequently discussed. These ambassadors afterwards join those of other courts,

courts, between whom the conversation is generally short.

The king's dinner immediately succeeds, at the end of which the whole *corps diplomatique* is again introduced. After having appeared at the tables of the princes and princesses, the ambassadors and envoys from foreign courts pass into the cabinet, where the monarch gives them a second audience. These audiences are repeated every day, and at the same hour, especially for the ambassadors of France and Naples, who, as family ambassadors, less frequently permit themselves to be absent from the court than those from other powers. The whole day is passed by the king of Spain with the same regularity and exactness. An hour after dinner he goes with the prince of Asturias to the chace, whence he does not return until the evening. Exact in the duties of a father of a family, as well as in those of a sovereign, he goes to embrace his children, transacts business with one of his ministers, makes

a party with some of the grandees who attend on his person, sups in private, and retires early to bed. At ten o'clock the most profound silence reigns in his palace.

This court, so regular in its conduct and simple in its manners, is not however wanting in magnificence. The monarch, who always eats alone, has behind his chair his grand master, his almoner, and the captain of his guards. His table is served by two grandees, one of them places the dishes and the other, upon one knee, gives him the cup. There can be nothing humiliating in this posture, which shocks those who at other times are admitted to the familiarity of the sovereign, because it is sanctioned by habit, and because the principal persons of the kingdom submit to it; besides, is not this homage, at which French vanity is so much offended, rendered also at the courts of Vienna and London, where the authority of the monarch is in so many respects circumscribed?

scribed? At Madrid it is paid to all the persons of the royal family; and the ladies who serve the princesses kneel likewise upon one knee, when they present them any thing to drink.

But the magnificence of the court of Spain is more particularly displayed on gala-days. These are of two kinds, the great and lesser galas. The great galas are kept eight times a year, on the birth-days of the king, the prince and princess of Asturias, and of the king and queen of Naples: the lesser ones, which are called demi-galas, are in honour of the other princes and princesses, descendants of Philip V. These only require the courtiers to be dressed a little better than ordinary; but at the grand galas, the greatest luxury of dress is displayed, in which, however, taste does not always preside. Every person in the service of the court, from the grand master to those who hold the most inconsiderable employments, have a uniform suitable to their places, and

which they wear on these occasions. In the morning of these great days, all those who have any connexion with the court, whether by their military service, their titles, or civil functions, the ecclesiastics, and, for the most part, some monks, pass before the king and the royal family, bending one knee and kissing the monarch's hand. This is a species of loyalty and homage, a renewing of the oath of fidelity. Our brave knights, as proud as we are, but perhaps less vain, disdained not to kneel before him from whom they received their honours. The ceremony of investiture is, at present, accompanied by the same act of submission. What therefore is there mortifying to pride in the homage rendered to the king of Spain, on certain solemn occasions, or when thanks are returned him for some favour? But what is more singular, women, of the greatest distinction, kiss not only the hand of the monarch, but that of all his children, whatever may be their age or sex, and the most charm-

charming duchess prostrates herself before the youngest infant, even when at the breast, and presses, with her lips, the little hand which mechanically receives or refuses the premature homage.

But Spain is not the only country in which ceremony has sanctified customs disavowed by Nature, or mortifying to gallantry. J. J. Rousseau, when combating, with that energy so natural to him, those who degrade the dignity of man before his fellow creature, remarks that in more courts than one, the whole body of ambassadors go solemnly to pay their compliments to a crowned infant, whose only answer *consists in crying and drivelling*. My philosophy is less rigorous; and I reserve my invectives for subjects of more importance. I will moreover observe, in behalf of Spanish etiquette, that it favours the delicacy of the fair sex. Men kiss hands in public, but the ladies only in the inner apartments. None but the ladies who have employment in the palace, kiss
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the hands of all the royal family. The others, who are received at court, pay this homage to no one but the queen and the princess of Asturias. This class is composed of all the female grandees of Spain, and ladies of title; which denomination must not be understood in the sense affixed to it in France. It here becomes necessary to treat of the dignities and titles of the court of Spain.

Princes of the blood, so called, have not hitherto been distinguished as such at this court. Next to the Infants and Infantas of Spain, and the sons, grandsons and nephews of the sovereign, immediately come the grandees. These are divided into three classes, differing from each other by such trifling distinctions as are scarcely worth notice. All the grandees of Spain, of whatever class they may be, are covered in presence of the king, and have the title of excellence: in these are comprehended all their prerogatives.

rogatives*. There is no place or employment, however distinguished it may be, which is exclusively attached to their rank, if those of grand-master, and grand-equerry be excepted; as also that of *Sumiller de corps*, which has some relation with the place of grand-chamberlain, and the commission of captain of halbardiers; but there are several others which infallibly lead to the rank of grandee. The band of gentlemen of the chamber to the number of forty, more or less, at the will of the sovereign, is for the most part composed of grandees; but there are also some persons of quality, who, without the former rank, obtain this dignity. It is true that none of the latter are employed immediately about the person of the sovereign, or the heir to the crown, and that the queen and the princesses of Af-

* I pay no attention to the frivolous honours they receive when they pass the guard-room. Some person in waiting strikes his foot against the ground to give notice to the centinel to rest his arms to them.

turias are served by none but grandees : but these of both sexes are indiscriminately taken from the three classes. There are grandees of the most ancient and illustrious extraction of the two inferior classes, and who do not esteem themselves the less on that account.

Philip V. who conferred many titles of grandee, created not one either of the second or third class. Ferdinand VI. imitated his example ; but Charles III. has revived a distinction almost imaginary, which was nearly obliterated ; and, in the last promotions, created several grandees of the second class. They do not all enjoy the privilege of being covered in the royal presence, except when they are received for the first time, and when they accompany his majesty at any ceremony. This honour does not, however, belong to them exclusively ; they enjoy it in common with the nuncio, the family ambassadors, and some generals of orders, who also have the title of excellence, and as long as their
dignity

dignity continues, are associated with the real grandees.

Besides the titles of grandee, which are hereditary, there are others that become extinct at the death of the possessor. Some persons obtain the honours only of grandee, and transmit them to their descendants. He who enjoys them bears the title of excellence, but is not covered in presence of the king. A more marked distinction in the different classes of grandee, and which is not founded upon law, but upon custom, still more tyrannical, is that which the grandees of ancient families establish between themselves and those of more modern or less illustrious extraction. The first speak to each other in the singular number, on all occasions, and whatever may be the difference in their ages, or the places they hold. I have more than once heard young grandees, who scarcely had the rank of colonel, speak in this manner to the minister for war, whom they looked upon as their equal in point of

of birth. But when they converse or correspond with *grandees*, whose extraction appears to them to be unequal to their own, they ceremoniously give and receive the title of *excellence*. The latter frequently suffer in secret by this mortifying homage; so ingenious is vanity in every country, in creating itself enjoyments, and even torments, and in converting vain chimeras into realities, which have an influence upon happiness. The new *grandees* solicit the honour of speaking to each other in the singular number, as they would do the favour of the sovereign. The refusal they meet with is the more mortifying, as this mark of equality and familiarity is sometimes granted by the most distinguished *grandees*, to branches of some illustrious houses who have not yet obtained the title, and who, thinking they have well-founded pretensions to such an honour, are distinguished by the name of *casas agraviadas*, *injured families*.

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The title of grandee, when hereditary, is so in males and females, unless the patent formally expresses the contrary. There are many houses in Spain that, by marriages with heiresses to this title, have ten or twelve *hats*; which is the vulgar term to denote the dignity of grandee of Spain.

This accumulation is an imaginary advantage, which adds nothing to the dignity of him by whom it is enjoyed: and although he may have children, he has not even the power of distributing the hats among them. The right of primogeniture to the title of grandee is established in every family enjoying that hereditary rank. There are but few in which the second son has a title and a grandeeship in his own right. All the eldest sons of grantees receive, by anticipation, the title of excellence, but their brothers have it not, nor that of count or marquis: they bear the name of their family, preceded by that they received in bap-

baptism. Thus the brother of the duke of Uceda, is simply called Don Emmanuel Pacheco; and the younger sons of the late count of Fuentes, predecessor of the count of Aranda, Don Juan and Don Francisco Pignatelli.

This distinction must not be lost sight of by a stranger, who does not wish to be deceived by the vain words count and marquis, and by them to appreciate the rank of persons. There are many grandees of Spain who have no other title. There is no mark of extraordinary distinction in that of duke. It is given according to the pleasure of the sovereign, when he confers the title of grandee, on which account the patent is a little more expensive.

But all those who are honoured with the title of count or marquis are not grandees. Most of them are no more than what are called *titulos*, or *titles* of Castile. These titles prove not an illustrious race, but the favour of the
sove-

sovereign, commonly merited by some particular and important service, either in a military or civil capacity. The king generally grants to him whom he thus honours, the liberty of applying his title to one of his estates; and sometimes adds a denomination which denotes the service he wishes to recompence. Thus was it that under Philip V, the admiral Navarro, who commanded the Spanish squadron at the battle of Toulon, received the title of *Marquis de la Vittoria*; he who in 1759 escorted Charles III. from Naples to Barcelona, that of *Marquis del Real Transporte*; and more recently, the Minister of the Indies; Don Joseph de Galvez, whose long services Charles III. wished to reward by one of these titles, took that of *Marquis de la Sonora*, from the name of a colony, which his zeal and talents had acquired to his country, by peopling and improving it, and by freeing the whole settlement from the incursions of the savages.

These titles of Castile give to those who bear them, and to their wives, the qualification of Lordship, *Vuestra Senoria*. The refusal of this, in matters of ceremony, carries with it a mortification; but the greater part are too reasonable to require or even suffer it from their equals in the ordinary intercourse of society; though their inferiors bestow this honour upon them very lavishly. There are every where flatterers, as well as persons who love to be flattered. But those who are more particularly exact in rendering them their due in this respect, are such as have a right to the title of excellence in return, and who love their own ears should be tickled with a sound so pleasing.

There is a title between this and lordship; that of *Ussia Illustissima* (most illustrious lordship) which is given to archbishops, bishops, and great magistrates.

The

The dignity of grandee, as well as the titles of marquis and counts of Castile are not only unaccompanied with any pecuniary advantage, but are not even bestowed gratis. Those who obtain them, immediately pay a duty which has been received ever since the reign of Charles V, known by the appellation of *Demi-Annates**.

The grantees pay about twenty thousand livres (833l.) which, by the fees of the Chancery are increased to twenty-five thousand (1040l.) This duty is paid as often as the title descends, and is more or less according to the greater or lesser distance between him who inherits it, and the person from whom it is derived. Besides the duty on taking up the title, the grantees annually pay another under the name of *Lanzas*.

* The king sometimes remits this duty. The count d'Estaing received from the Spanish monarch this additional favour on obtaining the rank of grandee.

This is the remains and faint image of the military service, which the great vassals of the crown formerly performed, by furnishing a certain number of spears. As foreigners, who are grandees of Spain, cannot be subjected to this species of servitude, it appears equally conformable to reason and custom that they should not pay the duty of *lanzas*.

According to an arrangement mutually agreed to between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, since the same family has been in possession of the two thrones, the grandees of Spain are to rank with the dukes and peers of France. This acknowledgment of equality was not obtained without much opposition on the part of the former. When the question was agitated at the beginning of the reign of Philip V. the duke of Arcos, in the name of all the grandees, remonstrated against it to that monarch in the strongest terms. He asserted, that the grandees could not but be greatly surprised and offended at finding themselves considered

as on a level with the peers of France. At their own court, said the duke, the grandees see no one between them and the throne but the sons of their sovereign, whilst the peers of France must give place, first to the princes of the blood, next to the legitimated princes, and lastly even to foreign ones, not only to those of Italy and Germany, but also to those who, although descended from royal families, hold places in the service of the king of France, such as the dukes of Lorraine, de Bouillon, and others. The duke endeavoured to prove by many facts, that the grandees in Spain constituted the first order of subjects immediately after the royal family; and that most of them were in possession of privileges, as descending from royal ancestors, either in the male line, as the dukes of Medina Celi, descended from the infants de la Cerda, or in the female, or even from bastards. He gave instances of kings of Spain, and even of emperors, who had treated them as equals with the princes of Italy and Germany, and proved

that the grandees had always enjoyed the same honours as the princes descended from sovereigns, when they were not royal ; that when the courts of France and Spain had named representatives, those of France were princes of the blood, and those of Spain grandees ; without the least difference being made in the respect and honours paid to each. From all these proofs the duke concluded, that the dignity of grandee of Spain corresponded with that of the princes of the blood in France, and not with that of the peers.

These arguments were certainly plausible, but they were ill-received by Philip, who had contracted at the court of his grand-father a taste for despotism. The answer he returned to the duke was, that he would do well to go and signalize his zeal with the army in Flanders. This order was obeyed, and the duke, when on his return through Paris, was the first who desisted from the pretensions of which he had been the advocate.

vocate. He made the first visit to the princes of the blood, gave them the title of highness without receiving the same, and addressed the dukes and peers by the title of excellence without requiring a return; thus the cause of the grandees was lost for ever. Their number rapidly increased; their dignity was granted to several foreign noblemen; and, as all things are diminished in value by being multiplied, the grandees have become accustomed, by degrees, to see themselves, without any great mortification, considered as on a level with the dukes and peers of France. We are not to suppose, however, that the grandees of Spain, who derive their dignity from the reign of Charles V, do not think themselves superior to others, as in Germany the princes of ancient families believe they are to those who were created by Ferdinand and his successors; but this difference so flattering in secret to vanity, vanishes from before the eyes of the nation, and especially from those of the sovereign.

These grandees may, indeed, entertain a very high opinion of their own dignity and illustrious birth, but in other respects they are extremely affable and obliging. They are far from possessing that sullen pride attributed to them by European prejudices. Many of them are as remarkable for a gentleness of manners and goodness of heart, as the great in other courts for a haughty and forbidding dignity. It is not that they do not possess that which might be, if not a motive, at least an excuse for the assuming airs of pride; high employments, illustrious birth, and immense fortunes. Indeed, with respect to the latter, they are superior to those of the most opulent at the court of France.

There are no fortunes at Versailles to be compared to those of the duke of Medina Celi, the duke of Alba, the marquis of Penafiel, the count of Altamira, or the duke of Infantado. It must however be confessed that their
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external appearance does not correspond to their fortune. They do not ruin themselves as in France, in large and numerous houses, entertainments and English gardens. All these species of ostentation are in Spain yet in their infancy : theirs is more obscure, but perhaps not less expensive. Numerous sets of mules, rich liveries which are displayed but three or four times a year, and a multitude of servants, are their great articles of expence. The ill management of their estates, into which they seldom or never examine, considerably diminishes their income. They have stewards, treasurers, and various officers, like those of petty sovereigns. They keep in their pay, not only the servants grown old in their service, but those even of their fathers, and the families whence they inherit, and even provide for the subsistence of their children and relations. I was assured that the duke of Arcos, who died in 1780, maintained three thousand persons. This magnificence which disguises itself under
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the veil of charity, appears to have more than one inconvenience, it encourages idleness and causes mismanagement and extravagance, which while dependents are thus multiplied, must escape the most careful vigilance. Notwithstanding all this, there are fewer great families go to decay and ruin in Spain than in most other countries. The simplicity of their manners, their little taste for ostentation, and repugnance to ruinous arts, which, in other kingdoms, are found so seducing, conspire to preserve the estates of the Spanish nobility; but whenever the grandes of Spain shall chuse to imitate the example of those of other courts, their splendour will be equal to that of the most brilliant. This may be judged of by the appearance some have made in foreign countries when the dignity of their nation required a display of magnificence. They have hitherto indeed but little sought the paths which lead to the gratification of ambition. At the beginning of the present century, when they were divided between

tween the two princes who aspired to the throne, when once their passions were roused, they made efforts and displayed talents, which were not always employed in the best cause, but which proved that the latter reigns of the princes of the house of Austria had not benumbed their faculties. A kind of supineness, which continued half a century, succeeded to this fermentation; but in the present reign they have shaken it off, and proved that the most distinguished subjects in a nation are not always the most useless. They embrace with eagerness the profession of arms, which in fact offers them but few temptations, and which in Spain is more subjecting to courtiers than in France. In the political department they have more than one distinguished statesman to boast of, without mentioning that noble personage who is too intimately connected with us to permit me to put his modesty to the blush by an homage which I should have so much pleasure in rendering to his talents and virtues.

The

The body of the grandees furnishes at present but few members to the church, which in Spain has not so many attractions for the vanity of great families as in other catholic kingdoms of Europe ; but the few individuals of this class who have devoted themselves to the sacred duties, without regard to worldly considerations, are exemplary for their learning and piety. The only dignity with which they at present are invested, is that of Patriarch of the Indies, who at the court of Spain performs the functions of grand almoner. This is not merely a place of ceremony ; he who holds it is constantly in waiting near the person of the sovereign. No other grandees, except those in actual service are near the monarch : these are the grand-master of his household, his grand equerry, his *Sumiller de corps*, his first equerry, two gentlemen of the chamber, the captain of the guards in quarter, and he who attends the prince of Asturias, his *Sumiller de corps*, and four gentlemen of the chamber, who in turns serve him by two and two.

This

This prince and the princess of Asturias, have each their grand-master and grand equerry ; which great officers constantly reside near the persons of their highnesses. All the other grandees have their fixed residence at Madrid, whence they are but momentarily absent to make their court. Some, though but few almost constantly reside in the capitals of provinces ; but I know none who habitually reside on their estates, which they dignify with the pompous title of *States* ; and which, from their extent and the privileges annexed to them, are not altogether unworthy of the title.

The dignity of grandee is not announced by any exterior insignia. Those who are gentlemen of the chamber wear a golden key. There are six orders of knighthood in Spain ; but not one to which the grandees have an exclusive right. The most distinguished is the order of the golden fleece, founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and which the court of Vienna continues
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to confer in concurrence with that of Madrid, although the former had renounced this prerogative, by the treaty which terminated the great quarrel between Philip V, and the archduke. The number of knights of the golden fleece is very limited in Spain, and this is the order, which of all those in Europe, has best preserved its ancient splendour.

There are also four military orders, founded at the time of the crusades; and since the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, the king has been grand master of them all. They are those of *Santiago*, *Calatrava*, *Monteza*, and *Alcantara*. The three first are distinguished by a red ribbon, and the last by a green one. These four orders have commanderies, which are conferred by the king. They were for a long time given to every class of persons, provided they could bring the requisite proofs. Charles III, recalled them to the spirit of their first institution, and prescribed to himself an irrevocable law to bestow them on none but military men.

men. An honourable distinction for the rest of the subjects was therefore wanting. This he supplied in 1771 by creating a fifth order, which bears his name, and is dedicated to the conception of the virgin. It is composed of two classes: that of the great crosses and simple knights. The great crosses wear the great ribband of the order, sky blue, edged with white. On days of ceremony they are clothed in a great mantle with these two colours, and wear a collar upon which are alternatively displayed the arms of Castile and the king's cypher.

The number of the great crosses should be limited to sixty. When the order was first established the members were chosen from among the grandees, except two of the great officers, one of which was the archbishop of Toledo, and the other the Patriarch of the Indies. A short time afterwards the king made an exception to this rule, in favour of his marine minister, the marquis of Castel-
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jon. This exception was afterwards extended; though the order was still confined to the most eminent personages of the kingdom, such as the ministers and some general officers, distinguished either by their zeal or services.

The simple knights were two hundred in number, each enjoying a pension of a thousand livres (about forty pounds). A few years since the king bestowed this lesser order upon some persons in France, who are not reckoned in the original number. In their favour he has departed from the statute which rendered this order incompatible with all others, by permitting it to be associated with the cross of St. Louis.

Proofs of nobility are necessary to this latter order, as well as to the four military ones; this I must believe, because I have been assured of it by several people of veracity, otherwise I should have had my doubts of its truth, or have imagined at least that there were several means of eluding the law.

It

It is true, that nobility in most of the provinces of Spain, is not difficult to establish.

It is sufficient that he who aspires to this distinction proves himself, and his ancestors, to have lived nobly, without having exercised any of the professions, few in number, which law and prejudice declare to be vile; he is then reputed a gentleman by descent; *hidalgo*; for in Spain, nobility by creation is unknown. Some humorists have observed, that there are whole provinces of which all the inhabitants are gentlemen: nor is this any great exaggeration.

Philip V. ennobled all the Biscayans. All the Asturians are believed to be descended from the ancient Goths, who took refuge in the mountains of Asturia, and are reputed noble on account of this honourable origin. But there cannot be a more glaring absurdity than to imagine that two or three hundred

thousand men, who settled some centuries ago in a small province, were all noble. If all men measured five feet six inches the words giant and dwarf would be obliterated from the dictionary. Nobility necessarily supposes a more numerous class, who are ignoble. Thus, in fact, there are in Biscay and Asturia, as in other parts of Europe, distinguished families, in the opinion of the public, who have made a great figure in the district in which they reside, either by their opulence, or the places they have held; and whatever may be the pretensions of obscure neighbouring families, the former affect a pre-eminence, which these acknowledge by their homages: this, however, prevents not the latter from cherishing the ideas of grandeur, which preserves in their minds a nobleness undoubtedly preferable to the chimerical nobility of blood: so that if by chance they arrive at some employment less obscure than their birth, they think they have only regained their proper place, and are less insolent and vain

vain than most upstarts in other countries. I have more than once remarked this distinguishing characteristic, even in the lowest ranks of the Asturians and Biscayans. They have, in their appearance, something more haughty, and are much less humble in their homages. They are not awed either by titles or riches. A man in place, is in their eyes a fortunate man, who has won in the royal lottery, in which they all have a ticket, and may win in their turn; and this prejudice, ridiculous as it may seem, keeps them on their guard against meanness, and even against degrading crimes.

Notwithstanding those imperceptible gradations, which in Spain separate the nobility from the inferior ranks, the proofs required, in certain cases, are closely examined: but there, as well as in other countries, money and interest procure genealogists not over scrupulous. A reflection, applicable to every nation, may be made with respect to the nobility of Spain, which is, that

the less a monarch is limited, the more arbitrary are these distinctions, and the more irregular the gradations. Despots, even those the least tyrannical, prefer or neglect their subjects, according to their caprices. Unlimited monarchies, more or less, approach this uncertainty: and there are few in which the sovereign authority is less circumscribed than in Spain.

Under the ancient form of government it was more confined; but it changed by degrees, and without commotion. The intermediate ranks scarcely exist in name.

The history of Spain sufficiently proves how great an influence the Cortes had in the most important affairs of government, in war, peace, and the levying of taxes. These, for a long time past, have not been assembled, except for the sake of form. And the sovereigns, without violence, without formally, rejecting their intervention, have
found

found means to elude their authority. They promulgate from the throne ordinances under the name of *pragmatiques*, the preambles of which give us to understand, that they claim the same authority as if they had been published in the assembly of the Cortes; which are never convoked except at the accession of a new sovereign to the throne, to administer to him an oath in the name of the nation, and to swear to him fidelity.

On this occasion, letters of convocation are sent to all the grandees, to all persons bearing titles of Castile, to all the prelates, and to every city which has a right to send deputies to the Cortes. The two first classes represent the nobility, the priests sit in the name of the clergy, and the cities which depute one of their magistrates, represent the people. Except on these occasions, of which there have been but two examples in the present century, the Cortes of the whole kingdom have

not been assembled since 1713, when Philip V. convoked them to give their approbation to the pragmatic sanction, which changed the order of succession to the throne.

They are still consulted, for the sake of form, in certain cases; but then the members of which they are composed correspond with each other, without assembling. A faint image of them, however, remains in an assembly, which constantly resides at Madrid, under the name of *Diputados de los Reynos* (deputies of the kingdom).

At their breaking up in 1713, it was regulated, that they should be represented by a permanent committee, whose office it should be to watch over the administration of that part of the taxes, known by the name of *Millones*, and which had been granted under Philip II. with the formal consent of the Cortes, upon certain conditions, which the monarch swore to observe. They retained
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the administration of these imposts until the year 1718, when Cardinal Alberoni, whose ardent and imperious genius was irritated at such shackles, transferred it to the hands of the sovereign. From that time the assembly of deputies of the kingdoms, held no more of the state revenues than the small portion necessary to pay the salaries and defray the expences of the members. These are eight in number, and are chosen in the following manner:

But first it will be proper to observe, that the division of Spain into kingdoms and provinces, as described in maps and geographical treatises, has scarcely any place in fact. The government knows but one division, *the provinces of the crown of Castile, and those of the crown of Aragon.* These two parts of the monarchy differ from each other with respect to the administration, form, and collection of taxes; a distinction which had its origin at the time when Castile and Aragon were united by the

marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic, and which since that time has undergone but few alterations. The crown of Aragon possessed only Aragon, properly so called, Catalonia, the kingdom of Valentia, and that of Majorca composed of the ancient Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica. The crown of Castile possessed the rest of the Spanish monarchy. The deputies of the kingdoms are chosen according to this division. All the provinces of Castile unite to name six; Catalonia and Majorca one; and the Regencies of Valencia and Aragon elect the eighth. These deputies sit but for six years, at the end of which a new nomination takes place in the same manner. As a relict of their ancient rights, they still retain the privilege of being, by virtue of their places, members of the council of Finance, by which the sovereign communicates to the nation the necessity of levying any new tax; and the approbation they are supposed to give to the royal resolution is a shadow of the consent of the Cortes, with.

without which taxes could not formerly be either levied or augmented. But it is easy to perceive how feeble this rampart of liberty must be, which is only formed of a small number of citizens, who possess but little real power, are under the controul of government from which they expect favours and preferments, and who, after all, represent only the people, the most numerous but the least respected part of the nation. The provinces of Biscay and Navarre, which have assemblies and particular privileges, send also, on some occasions, deputies to the throne, but they do not make a part of the body of the deputies of the kingdom, and their constituents fix at pleasure the object and duration of their temporary mission.

We may perceive from this sketch how little the sovereign authority is limited in Spain. The will of the monarch is also carried into execution by several permanent bodies, under the name of Councils, who are the interpreters

preters and keepers of the laws, and of which we shall speak more particularly after having conducted the reader to Madrid.

Before we quit the residence of the sovereign, it will be proper to say something farther concerning the ministers who are constantly near his person; and with whom alone, at present, he shares the weight of royalty. Their authority was formerly counter-balanced by the council of state, which was consulted on all important occasions; which still subsists and forms the most distinguished body in the monarchy; but which, since the administration of cardinal Alberoni, has not been permitted to assemble or exercise its functions. The place of counsellor of state is now only honorary, with a considerable salary annexed to it, and furnishes the sovereign with the means of rewarding those of his subjects who have deserved well of the state, in the most distinguished employments. The various offices

ices of administration generally lead to this appointment at the end of a few years, and formerly the ministers had not the title of excellence until they were thus promoted. But at the recent nomination of M. de Valdez to the marine department, the king ordained that from that time all his ministers should bear that title, even before they became counsellors of state.

As there are still important cases in which the sovereign, modest enough to distrust his own discernment, wishes to receive the advice of those whom he honours with his confidence, he supplies the want of the assemblies of the counsellors of state, by uniting his ministers in a committee.

The administration of the kingdom is divided into six principal departments. The minister of foreign affairs is in many respects the directing minister, and receives, as a mark of distinction, the title of secretary of state. The minister
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of war has but a circumscribed authority. He is president of the council of war, which is rather a tribunal than a board of administration; but the inspectors of the infantry, and those of the cavalry, dragoons, and provincial regiments, draw up a statement of whatever relates to the corps of which they have the direction, and the minister at war has only to present the memorials they give in to the king.

The marine minister has no associates. The chiefs of the three departments, and the inspectors of the marine are named by the king on the representation of the minister; the marine ordinances prepared by him alone require only the sanction of the sovereign.

The minister of finances should properly be under the inspection of the superintendant general of that department; but these two offices were some time since united, and will probably be so continued; the separation of them
would

would multiply without necessity the springs of government, and the interests of the state require they should be simplified as much as permanent forms, those sacred bulwarks of justice and property, will admit. Besides, when the sovereign believes he has found in a subject the capacity and integrity required for the administration of his finances, why should he put over him other inspectors than his own conscience, and the zealous wish to justify so flattering a choice? The animadversion of a censor could, in such a case, produce nothing but divisions and mistrust, which would operate to the disadvantage of the service. The event has justified these reflections, in the persons of three ministers who have governed the finances of Charles III. These ministers are, besides, by their office, presidents of the council of finance.

The minister of the Indies has the most extensive department in all the monarchy, for in him is centered the civil, military, ecclesiastical and financial government

vernment of Spanish America, and it may be said, that in the whole political world there is no minister whose department comprehends so many different objects. Had Augustus committed to one single minister the government of the whole Roman empire, his power would only have extended to a small part of modern Europe, the coasts of Africa, and some provinces of Asia ; for the Roman empire at the time it was most extensive, was not to be compared to that immense country which, from the north of California, stretches to the streights of Magellan, and forms the dominions of the Spanish monarch in America, and the department of the minister of the Indies ?

The minister *of favour and justice* has his department in the judiciary and ecclesiastical affairs ; but his authority is circumscribed by the great chamber (*Camara*) of the council of Castile, of which we shall treat in another place ; and with respect to the nomination to benefices by the intervention of the king's

king's confessor. The latter, however, is not constitutional, but depends upon the will of the monarch, and the confidence with which he honours the director of his conscience.

These six offices are usually filled by six different persons ; but until the year 1776, the same minister held those of the marine and the Indies, which are so connected, that the good of the nation will, perhaps, require them to be again united. They are at present separate ; Don Joseph de Galvez possesses that of the Indies, which was conferred upon him in the year above-mentioned. Europe and America may judge whether or not this administration has been successful, and whether the active genius of the minister has contributed to render flourishing the most extensive colony that ever a mother country had under its dominion. Don Antonio de Valdez has presided over the marine department since the year 1783, and began his

his administration under the most happy auspices. At the death of Don Miguel de Musquiz, who was minister at war and of the finances, these two departments were confided to Don Pedro de Lerena, intendant of the four kingdoms of Andalusia. I quitted Spain about that time, and have not since had an opportunity of learning the public opinion of the new minister.

The department for foreign affairs since the resignation of the marquis of Grimaldi has been in the possession of the count of Florida Blanca, whose talents were displayed at Rome under the pontificate of Clement XIV, and in the most delicate circumstances. He has since united to this department that of favour and justice, the superintendancy of the post-stages, with that of the royal roads and public magazines. I have been assured that nothing was wanting to this respectable minister but better health to qualify him for the great

great task he has imposed upon himself.

The stability of ministers is one of the most remarkable particularities of the court of Spain. The monarch, who in disposing of these eminent places, consults public opinion, has hitherto had the rare happiness of never having his approbation dishonoured by the event. For which reason his ministers, without abandoning themselves to indolence, which this security might naturally produce, ardently labour to justify his confidence, and lose not that time which to them is so precious, in watching the latent springs of intrigue, and disconcerting its secret machinations. They have the courage to form vast projects, because they know that death only can prevent their execution, and are certain of finding a constant support in the benevolence of the monarch. Nothing diverts them from their principal object. Pleasures do not abound at the Spanish court ; there are no theatrical represen-

tations of any kind; the amusement of the sovereign and the princes is confined to the chace. This is a great inconvenience to the idlers about the court, but very advantageous to public affairs. Ministers may there dedicate their whole time to their business, and give frequent audiences. I have often greatly admired the simple and regular life they lead; walking is almost the only amusement they permit themselves. Nothing less than the esteem of the nation and the love of public good can recompense them for so intirely renouncing the greater part of the pleasures of life. I never was intimate with any of them, but according to what I have heard, they feel no regret at the self-denial which their situations require. Their principal society consists of their clerks, who habitually eat at their table. This reciprocal constraint has some particular inconveniences, but there results from it a greater union between the heads and the subalterns, and more unanimity in the conduct of affairs. Those who dispatch
them

them under the eye of the minister are not, in fact, merely clerks; they may rather be compared to the principals of our offices. To be appointed to these places, it is necessary to have given proofs of talents in some confidential employment. There are undoubtedly abuses in the public offices of the court of Spain as well as in all others; orders are there eluded, and perhaps traiterously divulged as in other countries; but in general, corruption is very rare, and persons in office are polite and obliging; this is the unanimous opinion of those who have had any connections or business with them.

It may reasonably be supposed that with the few resources which the court of Spain presents, it consists only of those who are confined there by their places. At St. Ildefonso it is almost deserted, so that the royal personages are for the most part reduced to the society of those whose services require their attendance. The princess of Asturias

herself, whose obliging manners, wit and graces irresistably charm all those who approach her, passes most of her time in private, where she has few other pleasures than those of music and conversation. The prince, her husband, has a taste for music and most of the fine arts; he patronizes that of painting in particular, and not satisfied with the master-pieces with which the palace of the king his father is furnished, he is making a collection of the best paintings of different schools, in which he is assisted by two of his valets de chambres, one a Frenchman, the other an Italian. Some years ago, on the vague expression of a wish, which was taken notice of by one of them, Louis XVI, sent him two fine paintings by Vernet. The prince has become so partial to the productions of the pencil of that master, that in the escurial there is a little cabinet of which all the pannels are finished by the hand of this great painter.

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The apartments of the palace of St. Ildefonso are, if I may so speak, hung with paintings. Those of the first royal anti-chamber are flattering to a French observer ; he there passes in review, as in an historical gallery, first an elegant portrait of Louis XIV, by Rigaud ; and next that of Louis XV. when a child ; those of the regent, the duke of Vendome, the last duke of Parma, of the house of Farnese and his duchess, as also those of Charles III, when he went to take possession of the kingdom of Naples, and Philip V, on his arrival in Spain ; the latter of which made a great impression on me as well as many other persons by the mild and noble countenance which resembles that of the count d'Artois. It is rather surprising that this portrait should be placed near that of the archduke. It might be imagined by this singular union that at the termination of the quarrel of these two princes, the archduke had sent to his fortunate rival, his portrait, as a pledge of their reconciliation, and that it was placed in a pa-

lace, in which the duke, whose likeness it was, had conceived the hope of ascending the throne. The chamber adjoining is that in which the king dines. It has a view of one of the finest cascades in the garden, which is surrounded by double walls of verdure. The nearest trees shade the balcony, and their shadows gently wave on the pannels within. This room is also decorated with several paintings, among which are some by Murillo and Solimena. I mean not to enumerate all those in the adjoining apartments. I shall only observe, that according to connoisseurs there is a fine one of St. Sebastian, by Guido; an excellent copy of a Magdalen by the same master; and a Flemish family by Rubens, in which we see the strongest expression. There is also a picture by Poussin, but it is placed so high that I could not distinguish the subject; two heads by Mengs, a small piece by Amiconi, in which three beautiful angels of rather too faint a white, hold the sacred winding sheet unfolded; the portraits of the
princes

princes of Conde and M. de Turenne, upon the same canvass, by Vandyck; with several other pieces of a smaller size to be seen in the king's cabinet. There are also a considerable number in the apartments of the prince and princess of Asturias. Among others are three of larger dimensions in their dining-room, which represent the three principal periods of the life of Job. In that of the Infanta Maria-Josepha is a Roman charity so striking as to excite universal admiration; the colouring is highly finished, and in the heads there is a nobleness and propriety which inspires equal admiration and respect. In the drawing-room of the princess there is one painting, singular from its extraordinary size, and the number of figures it contains. By their odd dresses, so little resembling those of the age, the artist may be supposed a Fleming. It presents all the various circumstances of the repast at which Herod, to please his daughter, ordered John the Baptist to be beheaded. It is natural to imagine that

the painter intended by this allegory to perpetuate a remembrance of the death of the unfortunate Don Carlos: this is one of those old traditions which time has rendered sacred, and of which the age and origin are equally unknown. I shall not farther enlarge this long list, which will convey no information to connoisseurs, and is insufficient for the ignorant. Those of our readers who wish for a more complete one may consult two journeys into Spain not long since given to the public, one by Mr. Twiss, and the other by Mr. Swinburn*.

Let us now descend to the gallery, which occupies all the front on the side towards the gardens. Here are also some paintings, and among others, two good copies, one from Raphael, the other from Giulio Romano, and two or three

* These two Englishmen, who have lately written upon Spain, are not in equal repute in their own country. Mr. Swinburn, known by other travels, displays in his work considerable taste and learning, and is preferred to Mr. Twiss.

pretty

pretty heads in Mosaic ; but what is most valuable is a considerable number of antiques, most of which were purchased in Italy by Philip V, and formerly made a part of the cabinet of queen Christina. Those which most engaged my attention were a cylindrical altar, on which the procession of Silenus is sculptured in bass relief ; a colossal Cleopatra ; a statue of Jupiter wielding his thunder, several Venuses of the size of the human figure ; eight muses a little mutilated, in which modern and unskilful hands have endeavoured to repair the injuries of time ; and of which the drapery is remarkable for its lightness ; two groups which are banished to a corner, as if they were ashamed to retrace the unimproving fictions of mythology ; two of the adulterous amours of Jupiter, in the pious abodes of catholic kings, a Leda and a Ganymede, who care not without suspicion the immodest birds, whose figure the god had assumed ; and a small figure of Seneca seated and wrapped in his mantle. But the antique sculptures which more particularly merit the attention

attention of connoisseurs, and the sight of which alone is sufficient to recompence the fatigues of a journey to Spain are the young fawn carrying a kid and the group of Castor and Pollux, two original master-pieces of antiquity in perfect preservation, copies of which, in marble, stone, and plaister are every where found by the side of those of the Venus de Medicis, the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvidere, and the Farnesian Hercules.

In an apartment in the gallery the finest marbles of Spain, in columns, vases, and busts, seem to vie with the productions transmitted to us from antiquity; yet notwithstanding the excellence of those modern performances they only serve to render the superiority of the venerable remains of antiquity still more apparent. A small corridor, adjoining to the gallery, contains in piles every thing for which no place could be found in the latter, Egyptian statues, fragments of columns, bas-reliefs, busts and

and other antiques, consigned to dust, destructive insects, and whatever anticipates the ravages of time. It is to be regretted, that a court whose sovereigns know so well how to value and encourage the arts, should not have chosen a more convenient place in which these precious monuments might be preserved from the destruction by which they are threatened.

Without the castle of St. Ildefonso, proofs of the vigilance of the monarch, and his taste for useful establishments, appear on every side. His prime minister, worthy of seconding the beneficent views of his master, remarked to him that the country round St. Ildefonso contained numbers of poor people, women and children, who through want of employment were reduced to lead an idle life, which might sow the seeds of every kind of vice; the monarch immediately established, not far from his palace, a manufacture in which these persons, until then incapable of
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rendering themselves useful, weave and prepare linens of different qualities. The edifice which contains them rose, as if by magic, at the command of the sovereign. In 1781, it had not been thought of. A manufacturer at Leon had the mortification of seeing government stop in its progress a considerable manufactory, which had been confided to his direction. He was ordered to St. Ildefonso, and before the month of August 1783. there were upwards of twenty looms employed in the new manufactory, and two great machines for pressing and washing the linen; this however is but a trifle, compared to what Spain has done, and has yet to do before she can become independent of foreigners with respect to these articles. Nature has, in this particular, been as kind to her as in all others; she derived advantages from it at the period of her greatest splendor. The Spaniards manufactured all kinds of household linen, and did not import from their neighbours a third of what they do at pre-

present. They are now in the way of regaining those advantages, being convinced that Arragon is proper for the cultivation of hemp and flax.

In Biscay these already flourish, and in Asturia, Old Castile, and particularly in the kingdom of Granada, of which the hemp and flax are preferable to those which Spain is still obliged to procure from the north for the use of her navy, people begin seriously to meditate similar establishments. But Galicia is the only province in which the manufacture of linens is in any very advanced state. This province produces linen for every kind of use, sufficient for its own consumption, and even sends some to Madrid and into Andalusia. Let not foreign merchants, however, who send linen to Spain be alarmed; were all the provinces immediately to follow the example of that of Galicia, her vast colonies would, for a long time, afford an almost inexhaustible market for the
linens

linens of Brittany, Silesia, Switzerland and Ireland.

Near the new established manufacture for articles of necessity, there is one of luxury, begun in the reign of Philip V. this is a manufacture of looking-glasses, the only one of the kind in Spain. It was at first only a common glass manufactory, which still exists, and produces tolerably good bottles, and white glass extremely well cut. I purchased some on which cyphers, letters, and pleasing landscapes are ingeniously engraved. This was the first step towards a far more enlarged undertaking. The looking glass manufactory of St. Ildefonso may be compared with the finest establishments of the kind; drawings of it may be seen in the plates of the French *Encyclopédie*. The edifice is spacious and well contrived; it contains two furnaces and twenty ovens, in which the glass gradually cools after having been run. They make glasses of all dimensions, from common squares to those

those of the greatest size. They are not so clear, and are perhaps less polished than those of Venice and St. Gobin; but no manufacture has yet produced them of such large dimensions. The operation of casting them is performed with much precision. The count d'Artois had the curiosity to be present at it; the glass run in his presence was, as well as I can remember, a hundred and thirty inches long by sixty-five wide, and I was assured that there were others which exceeded it in size. They are chipped in a long gallery joining to the manufactory, and at the distance of a quarter of a league there is a machine put in motion by water, which gives them their last polish; they are afterwards taken to Madrid, where they are silvered. The king has some of the finest to decorate his apartments; of others he makes presents to the courts most intimately connected with that of Spain.

In 1783, his majesty added some of these glasses to the presents he sent to
the

the Ottoman court, with which he had just concluded a treaty. It cannot but be highly pleasing to an enlarged and philosophical mind to reflect that, notwithstanding the prejudices of religion and politics which formerly divided nations, the arts have established between them an exchange of articles of luxury throughout all Europe, and that the beauties of the seraglio may admire themselves in glasses fabricated at St. Ildefonso, whilst Turkey carpets cover the floors of French apartments. The rest of the produce of the manufactory of St. Ildefonso is sold at Madrid, and in the provinces, for the king's account; but it may easily be imagined that the profits are too small to reimburse the expences of so extensive an establishment, which, except the article of wood, is so distant from all the raw materials it employs. Situated as it is, far inland, surrounded by lofty mountains, and at a considerable distance from any navigable river, it ought certainly to be numbered among the establishments.

blissments of luxury which prosper near the throne, and contribute to add to its splendor.

I was at St. Ildefonso during the whole time the count d'Artois remained there. The count, as well as all the persons who accompanied him, appeared extremely sensible of the polite reception they met with; and the court, notwithstanding the natural gravity of its disposition, seemed pleased to see one of the greatest ornaments of that of France submit to Spanish etiquette, to the regular and little varied manner of life habitual to the sovereign, and rendering, with the cordial warmth of a respective and affectionate nephew, his duties to the king his uncle; sometimes partaking with him the peaceful recreation of fishing and the pleasures of the chase, which, for the monarch of Spain, are almost as silent as the former, and quietly passing the remainder of his time with the amiable nobility of his suite, either in the palace of the

or in the hotel of the French ambassador. The court remarked, with equal satisfaction, the intimate connection formed between two august princes, already of almost equal rank, and who mutually to love only wanted to be acquainted; two princes worthy of each other by their frankness and loyalty, one the heir to the crown of Spain, and the other the second support of that of France. This attachment which reflected benevolence upon those who surrounded them, would have been sufficient to have destroyed the prejudices of the prince of Asturias (if ever he had any) against a nation of which he had not till then been able to judge under such favourable circumstances. After this agreeable interview, he must have believed, that our superficial exterior might possibly conceal estimable qualities, and that the elegance of our manners excludes none of the virtues which subdue the heart and give new lustre to the graces. I flatter myself that the meeting in which the two
princes

princes had an opportunity of forming a judgment of each other, will still more contribute to the glory and happiness of the house of Bourbon, by strengthening the ties by which its two branches should be united. We perhaps do not sufficiently consider the influence which the personal attachment of two princes destined to reign, or to be continually near the throne, must have upon the happiness of nations. How many bloody wars would have been prevented, had sovereigns, or their ministers, been known to each other personally, and not merely by the false light of political negotiation and intrigue. Ambition, that unnatural and violent ebullition of the mind, before which the happiness it pursues perpetually flies, would undoubtedly yield to milder passions, more analogous to the natural goodness of the human heart; and the effects of that universal benevolence which is increased and propagated by being exercised would frequently triumph over the frigid calculations of cabinets.

Let us therefore congratulate our philosophical age, which by extending the taste for travelling even to sovereigns themselves, will by degrees see the prejudices that divide courts and empires vanish, and perhaps destroy the source of wars, which were never longer or more bloody than between sovereigns who saw not each other, but through the illusions of false glory, and between whom no interview ever tempered the bitterness of national hatred.

The stay of the count d'Artois at St. Ildefonso, which has caused and will excuse this digression, continued a fortnight; his highness went afterwards to Madrid. The duke of Bourbon arrived at St. Ildefonso on the day of the count's departure, and remained there twenty-four hours. Though he travelled under the name of the count of Dammartin, the Spanish monarch gave orders that he should be treated as a prince of his family. He was not dazzled by the homage paid to his rank; he was a Bourbon

Bourbon to none but the king and his family. To all the rest of the court he was a private individual, whose exterior grace, engaging manners and modesty won every heart. He found the count d'Artois at Madrid; and these two princes visited together the curiosities of the capital, went to the theatre, and were present at a bull-fight.

The Castilians every where flocked about them, and it was easy to perceive that curiosity was not the only motive of the eagerness with which persons of both sexes, all ranks, and every age pressed to see them. I will, on this occasion, relate an anecdote trifling in itself, but which will serve to prove with what circumspection it is necessary to judge concerning a nation with whose language and manners we are not perfectly acquainted. When the princes had visited the palace of Buen-Retiro, their conductors, who knew no language but the Spanish, asked them if they would go and see *la China*. Some

of the attendants to the princes thought they were asked if they were going to China, and laughed at the absurd question. The truth, however, was, that these good people proposed to them to go to the manufactory of porcelain, which in Spanish is called *China*, as stuffs which come from Batavia are called after the Dutch colony of that name, and linens made in Silesia, *Bretagnes*. How many errors in the narratives of travellers arise from similar mistakes!

But leaving the count d'Artois and the duke of Bourbon to continue their journey to the camp of St. Roch, let us now return to St. Ildefonso, the environs of which have still several claims to our attention.

At the distance of a quarter of a league from this royal mansion runs a little river (the Eresma) which serves for the innocent pleasures of the sovereign, and often reflects his image. The banks have on each side a causeway,
or

ors where the ground requires them, there are stone or sod steps. It is enclosed between two piles of rocks, grouped in the most romantic manner. Its limpid waters sometimes run tumultuously over lesser rocks in the bed of the river, or precipitate themselves by natural cascades, sometimes forming small basons which serve as asylums to the trout destined to pass from the hook of his Catholic majesty to his table. In some places this river is separated by little meadows from copses of green oak, with which that part of the country abounds. In others tufted shrubs are seen upon the tops of the rocks, or hang waving from their sides.

Reader, if ever you should reside for some time at St. Ildefonso, and find yourself wearied with the dull magnificence which reigns in the palaces of kings, repair to the banks of the Eresma, there you will find one of the finest English gardens Nature ever formed; nor will you regret those at the distance

of a quarter of a league in which art has displayed all its luxury; and you will return more satisfied with yourself and less desirous of the false enjoyments which pomp procures at an enormous expence.

The court of Spain goes once a year to alarm the Naiades of the Eresma, by the noise of a general deer hunting. The rendezvous is upon the banks of this little river, about a league from the castle of St. Ildefonso. Some days previous to the arrival of the court, a number of peasants are sent to the neighbouring woods and hills to drive before them the deer with which the country plentifully abounds. The prescribed limits are by degrees narrowed, until the time fixed for rousing the game. The sport then becomes excellent: the deer run in small herds on all sides, seemingly perceiving the danger into which they are driven, after which they face about and endeavour to brave the running fire of musquetry that threatens

threatens them in the rear; but obeying the impulses of fear, and failing in their attempt, they pass in closer herds through the fatal defile, where the king, his sons, and the other princes, placed in ambuscade, wait their arrival. Their agility now becomes their last resource, and saves the greater number. Out of three or four thousand, and sometimes more, which thus pass in review, about a hundred fall. Some remain dead upon the spot, others carry away with them the mortal wound, and fly to conceal their agony in the thickets. Their bodies, whilst yet in palpitation, are brought and arranged upon the field of battle. These are numbered with a cruel satisfaction, for which a philosopher would reproach himself, but which it is agreed to pardon in hunters. The whole court, the ambassadors and foreign ministers commonly take part in this amusement, which is repeated towards the end of every visit to the Escorial. The counts of Artois and Damartin were invited as they returned
from

from the camp of St. Roch, and there appeared as actors. They perhaps would have wished for a less easy victory over the timid inhabitants of the woods, which they are accustomed to chase, and not coolly to massacre; but the forests of Compiègne and Fontainebleau had never offered them those legions of fleet herds, filing off by thousands before them, and this sight, perhaps, the only one of the kind in Europe, seemed highly to gratify their curiosity.

There is another place to which, during the visit to St. Ildefonso, the catholic king goes once to carry thither the noise and terror which accompany the chase. I mean the environs of Paular, a monastery of Carthusians, at the foot and on the other side of the enormous mountains which command the castle. During the rest of the year it is the asylum of peace and silence. The Paular, one of the richest convents of the Carthusians in Spain, is situated in a charming valley, watered by a considerable

able rivulet, which runs gently through the groves and meadows. This stream drives a paper-mill, the noise of which is the only sound repeated by the solitary echoes of the neighbourhood. A Frenchman, for in what country is not a Frenchman to be found, manages this manufacture on the account of the monks, and seems in this corner of the world to have forgotten both his country and language. We one day recognized each other by that species of instinct by which two natives of the same country are reciprocally attracted, who first explain themselves by a smile, of which their common language soon becomes the interpreter. I had been to visit the monastery of Paular, and had forgotten to provide myself with letters of recommendation to the prior. Excluded from this pious asylum, I expiated my negligence by wandering, without knowing whether I went, and without provisions, about the monastery. My guardian angel, or the genius of the country, conducted me towards the paper-

per-mill; I took the lucky path, and the director of this little manufactory conjecturing I was a Frenchman, accosted me and offered his service. His intercession opened to me the doors of the convent, and procured me proofs of the hospitable generosity of its silent inhabitants.

There is nothing remarkable in the monastery of Paular, except the great cloister in which Vincent Carducho has painted the principal events of the life of Saint-Bruno.

I shall now accompany the reader to the castle of *Rio Frio* three leagues from St. Ildefonso. Herds of deer wander in the woods by which it is surrounded. These animals, which in general are so timid, appear to live here in a security that excites surprise in the traveller, and which is disturbed but once a year, when the king makes them pass gently in review, and chuses at leisure those he means to kill. The castle of *Rio Frio*
is

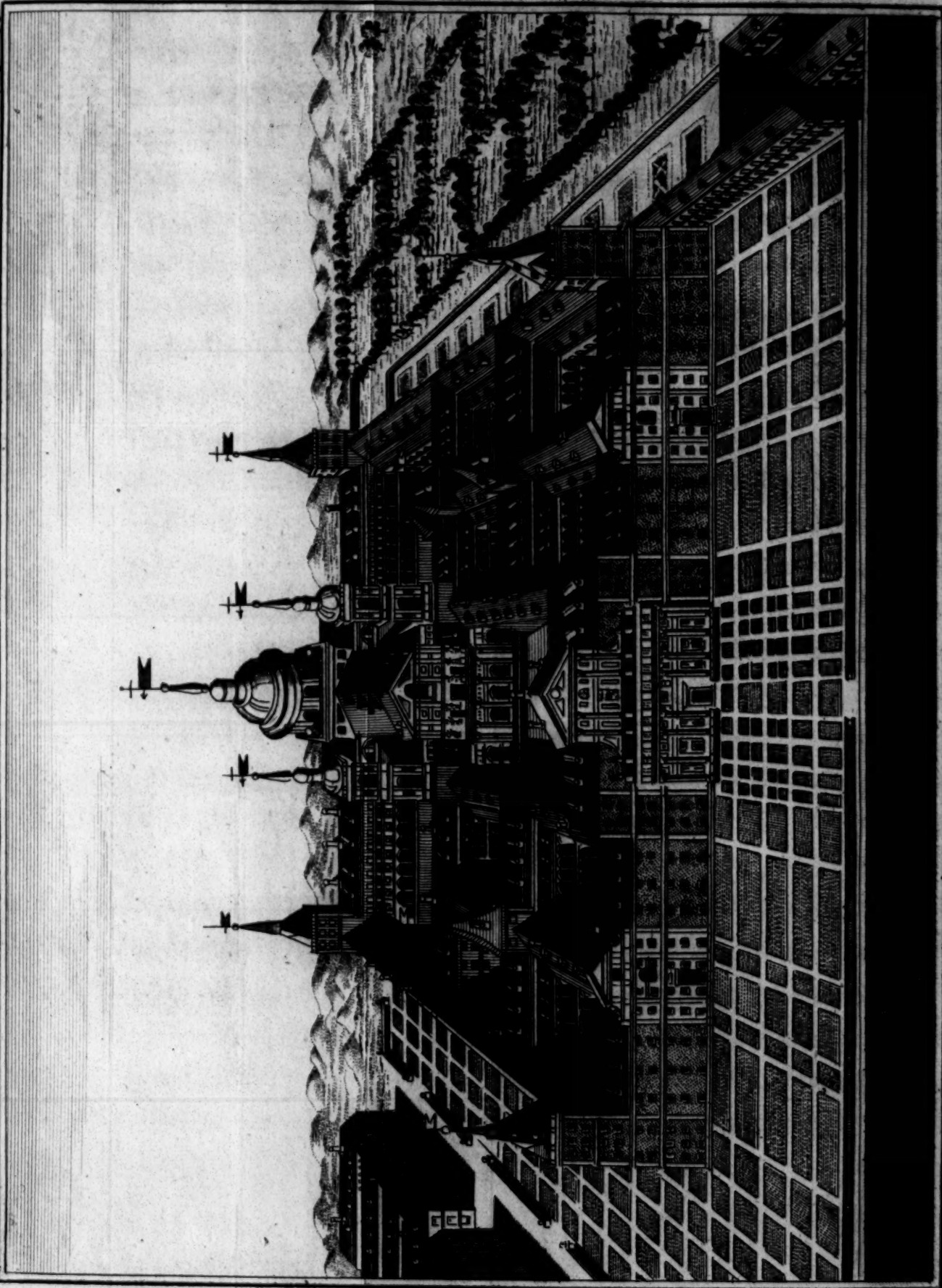
is situated in an extremely sandy soil. It was built by queen Isabella of Farnese, who after the death of Philip V, retired to St. Ildefonso during the whole reign of Ferdinand VI, son of that monarch, but by another wife; and determined to make the castle of Rio Frio her last abode. That it might recall to her memory the new palace of Madrid, which neither she nor her husband had the good fortune to reside in even a single day, she ordered it to be built after the same plan, but of less dimensions. Her own son Charles III, being called to the throne of Spain by the death of Ferdinand VI, her project of retreat vanished, and the castle of Rio Frio was abandoned even before it was finished.

We will now leave St. Ildefonso and take the road to the Escorial. At about three quarters of a league from the castle we pass the Eresma over a bridge, and arrive at Balfain, a village situated in a hollow shaded by thick woods. The
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kings of Spain had formerly a hunting feat here, to which Philip V. sometimes went, and where he conceived the project of building St. Ildefonso, in this wild country, which promised to gratify at once his taste for solitude and for the chase. The French ambassador, before the king built his palace at St. Ildefonso, resided at this old castle. As soon as we have passed it, we climb for two leagues the tops of the high mountains which separate the two Castiles. The road is shaded by high pines, the tops of which are frequently lost in the fogs which rise from the bosoms of deep valleys. The air becomes insensibly colder as we approach the summits of the mountains; and when we have arrived at the seven points of rocks which, from St. Ildefonso, have the appearance of an immense parapet wall, a new object presents itself to the admiring eye. Before us we view the vast plains of new Castile, and perceive Madrid considerably within the bounds of the horizon over which the sight wanders to an immense distance.

We

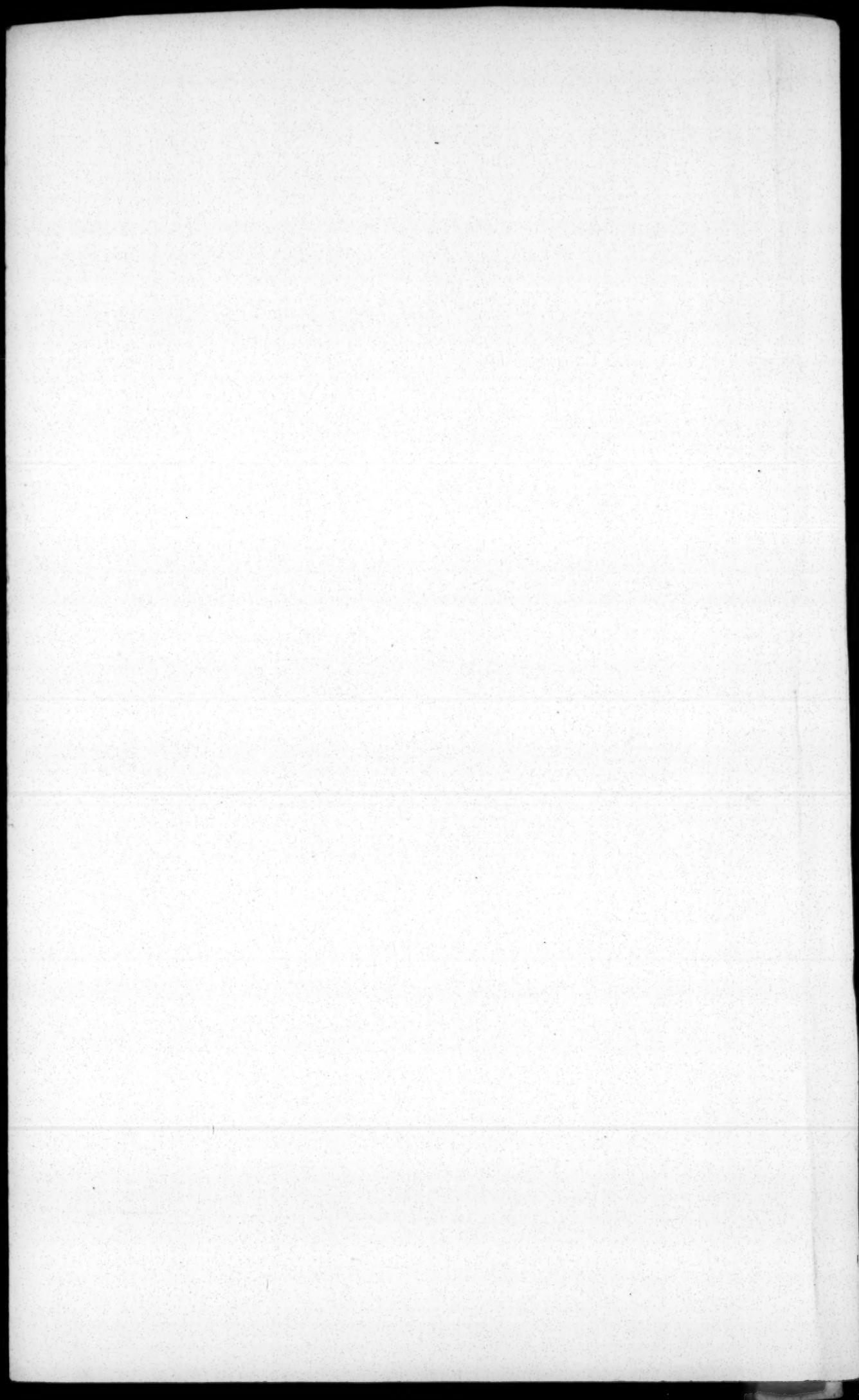
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VIEW OF THE ESCURIAL.

We are here in another country, and find another sky and a different temperature. The traveller frequently leaves behind him clouds above clouds, to which the mountains seem to serve as boundaries, and instantly passes into the most serene air. The rays of the sun lost in the thick fogs he had just passed through, add colouring and embellishment to the prospect around him. He soon precipitates himself rather than descends from the top of this magnificent belvedere, and at the end of two leagues arrives at the town of Guadarrama, through which passes the great road from Paris to Madrid. He crosses this road to follow that which leads to the Escorial, at which the court resides six weeks after leaving St. Ildefonso.

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history gives to that prince. We will not here, however, repeat their censures. The Spaniards, even at this distance of time, have not yet abandoned him to the censure of posterity as we have our Louis XI, whom he resembled in more points than one. His memory, besides, seems to command respect, at the approach of this royal convent, where we perpetually hear him called *our holy founder*, where his ashes are deposited, and where his image every where meets the eye. This foundation, as is well known, was in consequence of a vow made on the day of the battle of St. Quentin, at which, however, Philip was not present. It is known also that he dedicated it to St. Lawrence, of whom that day was the feast. In Spain it is called by the name of this saint (*San Lorenzo*) and every thing in the Escorial reminds us of the instrument of his martyrdom. It is not only seen upon the doors, windows, altars, rituals and sacerdotal habits, but the edifice itself bears its form. It is a quadrangular building

building with the principal front to the west, behind which is a mountain; the opposite side, which faces Madrid, takes the form of the shortened handle of a gridiron reversed; and the four feet are represented by the spires of four little square towers which rise above the four angles. I will not undertake with the Abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar, to give the number, no doubt exaggerated by them, of all the doors, windows, courts, &c. of this famous convent. In the whole, it certainly has something awful, but it does not perfectly correspond to the idea formed of it according to the accounts we have received. Its form did not permit the architect to make the most of its vast extent; and it is not till we have passed the numerous dormitories, and wandered among the courts, staircases and galleries that the imagination completes what a first view had only sketched. There is nothing magnificent in the architecture. It has rather that serious simplicity more proper for a convent than the splendid elegance

which announces the residence of a great monarch. The front to the west alone has a fine portail formed by large columns of the doric order, half sunk in the wall, and on each side two great doors of noble dimensions. By this portail we pass to an elegant square court, at the bottom of which is a church. This principal entrance is never open for the kings of Spain and the princes of the blood, except on two solemn occasions. When they come for the first time to the Escorial, and when their remains are deposited there in the vault which awaits them. I could not but imagine I perceived the emblem of the gates of life, and those of eternity, which, for the children of kings, as well as for the meanest of mortals, open but once and immediately shut again for ever.

On this side, the door of the church is announced by a fine peristyle ; over the front of which are colossal statues of six kings of Israel, which appear as in equilibrium upon their slight pedestals.

These

These six kings had some share in the founding or rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, as we are informed by the inscriptions upon the base of their statues. The two in the middle are David and Solomon, to whom the sculptor has endeavoured to give the likenesses of Charles V, and Philip II, his son; so ingenious has flattery ever been in seeking new channels to convey its homage, and turning to its use even what seems least adapted to its purpose.

The front to the south is entirely destitute of ornament; but in four stories there are nearly three hundred windows. The two great doors of entrance are on the opposite front. The whole edifice is built with hewn stone of a species of bastard granite, which by its colour, become brown with time, adds to the austerity of the building. The quarry where it was dug is in the neighbourhood of the Escorial, and it is said that this was one motive for the choice of the situation of the Escorial. It furnished blocks

of such considerable dimensions, that three stones were sufficient to form the chambrane of the greatest door-ways, and each step of the principal stair-case is composed but of one.

When the court is not at the Escorial, it is but a vast convent inhabited by two hundred monks, under the inspection of a prior. At the arrival of the court the convent is transformed into a palace. The monks are banished to the apartments in the south and west sides, and the principal cells become the habitations of the royal family, and the nobility and gentry of both sexes, by whom it is accompanied. The king himself has his in the narrow space which forms the handle of the gridiron. Philip II, seems to have wished to make this a retreat, where sovereign greatness might retire to hide itself beneath the shade of altars, and become familiarized to its tomb; and his successors, faithful to this vow of humility, still content themselves with the same modest

dest habitation. It communicates, by a stair-case, with the church and vestry, in which the arts united have displayed all their magnificence.

The church is in the form of a Grecian cross, above which is a dome. The whole building rests upon pillars, perhaps rather too massy, in the interstices of which are several altars. The architecture is simple but majestic. Several subjects from holy writ, and some sacred allegories are painted in fresco in the dome, by the magical pencil of Luca Giordano. The great altar, which is ascended by twenty steps, contains three different orders of architecture, one above the other, in the form of a mutilated pyramid: no expence has been spared in decoration. Richness and elegance are united in the tabernacle. The columns are of the most precious marble; the interstices are filled up with paintings by Lucas Cambiaso and Pellegrino Tibaldi. Yet the whole has something parsimonious in its appearance, which forms a strik-

ing contrast with the majesty of the edifice. It is too lofty for its breadth, and appears to be crammed by force into the narrow space it occupies, as if it had not been erected for the church to which it belongs. But the two monuments which accompany it are really beautiful; these perfectly accord with the first of the three orders of which it is composed, that is doric with fluted columns. The tombs are those of Charles V, and Philip II. These two sovereigns are on their knees, and seem to bow their majesty before the King of Kings. They occupy the forepart of a kind of open chamber lined with black marble, by the side of the altar. There is something at once solemn and grand in the two monuments. The spectator, while contemplating them, cannot but profoundly reflect on the vain insignificance of human greatness, and the abyss in which it is sooner or later swallowed up. The tranquillity that reigns around them seems to be that of death, against which the lords of the earth vainly arm themselves

selves with sepulchral pride. These reflections become still more serious when applied to two sovereigns, who, during their lives, disturbed the world with their ambition, and are now condemned to eternal silence by the only law which they could not escape.

The two nearest altars to the high altar, are those of the Annunciation and St. Jerome, which have beauties for devotees and goldsmiths. Two great doors, upon which are two indifferent paintings by Lucas Cambiaso, open and leave the eye dazzled with innumerable relics in vases, and cases of silver and silver gilt, enriched with precious stones. There is also a large St. Lawrence of solid silver, upon the breast of which are some spoils of this Martyr which his disciples saved from the flames. The church contains also some good paintings by artists of the second order, among which are several apostles by Navarette, known by the appellation of the dumb, the fall of the angels, and the martyrdom of

ing contrast with the majesty of the edifice. It is too lofty for its breadth, and appears to be crammed by force into the narrow space it occupies, as if it had not been erected for the church to which it belongs. But the two monuments which accompany it are really beautiful; these perfectly accord with the first of the three orders of which it is composed, that is doric with fluted columns. The tombs are those of Charles V, and Philip II. These two sovereigns are on their knees, and seem to bow their majesty before the King of Kings. They occupy the forepart of a kind of open chamber lined with black marble, by the side of the altar. There is something at once solemn and grand in the two monuments. The spectator, while contemplating them, cannot but profoundly reflect on the vain insignificance of human greatness, and the abyss in which it is sooner or later swallowed up. The tranquillity that reigns around them seems to be that of death, against which the lords of the earth vainly arm themselves

selves with sepulchral pride. These reflections become still more serious when applied to two sovereigns, who, during their lives, disturbed the world with their ambition, and are now condemned to eternal silence by the only law which they could not escape.

The two nearest altars to the high altar, are those of the Annunciation and St. Jerome, which have beauties for devotees and goldsmiths. Two great doors, upon which are two indifferent paintings by Lucas Cambiaso, open and leave the eye dazzled with innumerable relics in vases, and cases of silver and silver gilt, enriched with precious stones. There is also a large St. Lawrence of solid silver, upon the breast of which are some spoils of this Martyr which his disciples saved from the flames. The church contains also some good paintings by artists of the second order, among which are several apostles by Navarette, known by the appellation of the dumb, the fall of the angels, and the martyrdom of

St. Urfula, by Pellegrino Tibaldi. In the two vestries particularly, master-pieces of painting are scattered with such profusion as is capable of fatiguing the admiration even of connoisseurs. In the first, in which the light is not good, there are three by Paul Veronese, one by Titian, two by Tintoret, one by Rubens, and one by Spagnoletto. The principal vestry contains a still greater number, and would alone be sufficient to justify the fame of the Escorial.

I shall only mention the paintings most striking to eyes least accustomed to judge of the productions of the arts. That which has the greatest effect is the altar-piece, by Claude Coello, a Portuguese, otherwise little known. It retraces a scene, of which the vestry was the theatre. Charles II. accompanied by the nobility of his retinue, is represented on his knees before the holy sacrament, held by the prior of the monastery; the monarch went thither publicly to supplicate pardon for the profanation

fanation of a host, lacerated by impious hands, and revenged by a miracle. The holy meditation of the monarch, the appearance of compunction in his features, the attitude of the prior, and those of the monks, by whom he is surrounded, and the manner in which so many figures are grouped without confusion, give to the whole of this painting the most sensible effect; and although it be far from the best piece, there is none which leaves a greater impression upon the generality of spectators. Real connoisseurs, and those who are dazzled by great names, prefer a fine holy Virgin by Guido; two paintings by Vandyck, one the woman taken in adultery, the other St. Jerome naked to the middle, and writing as he is dictated to by an angel, whose freshness of complexion produces the most agreeable contrast with the fallow skin of the aged saint. A large picture by Tintoret, in which this painter has indulged all the caprice of his imagination, in giving a representation of the Lord's supper.

An

An assumption by Annibal Carracci; several pieces by Titian, and two, very admirable for the colouring, one a St. Sebastian of the natural size, and the other our Saviour disputing with a doctor of the law; three by Raphael; one called *the pearl*, on account of its superior excellence, is a holy family, in which the infant Jesus has a grace, a justness of expression, and an exactness of drawing which belongs only to this great master; and another the visitation, in which the modesty of the Virgin, and her embarrassment on appearing before Elizabeth with the unexpected and already apparent signs of her pregnancy cannot be too much admired,

Less celebrated artists have also contributed to the decoration of the vestry. I shall mention but two; the chevaliers Maxime and Romanelli. The first has exhibited the beauty of Guido's forms in the painting where Christ disputes in the temple with the doctors, and the graces and sweetness of the pencil of Albano

Albano appear in that of the latter, the Virgin seated caressed by her holy infant. I cannot leave the vestry without mentioning a kind of obelisk in filigree, ornamented with precious stones, concealed behind the fine painting of Claude Coello, and which is never exposed except at the celebration of the miracle it represents. It may be imagined, without my saying it, that this vestry contains, in large drawers, the most rich sacerdotal ornaments, chandeliers, sacred vases and the like, which are greater proofs of the magnificence of the kings of Spain than of their piety.

The same observation may be made on the pantheon their sepulchre, to which a door in the passage from the church to the vestry opens. The staircase is entirely covered with marble, as is also the inside of the pantheon. This is divided into several chambers, each of which has its particular distinction. One of them is what is called the *podriero*, or the *rotting place*. Here the bodies

dies of the kings and the royal family are deliverd up to the first ravages of corruption. The bodies of the princes and princesses of Spain, who have not reigned, are deposited in another. It is in this august and dismal assembly that the duke of Vendôme is placed, like M. de Turenne at St. Denis, among the remains of our kings. Many people are still of opinion, that the first of these generals was interred in a village in the kingdom of Valencia, where he died. I examined the register of the monastery, and found an account of his remains being brought thither, and I afterwards learned, that they arrived at the Escorial the 9th of September 1712, and were received by my lord Cotron, captain of the guards of Philip V. and the count de Las Torres; that they were first deposited in the old pantheon, whence they were transferred to that of the princes. The real pantheon serves as the last asylum only for the kings and queens of Spain. It seems as if they wished to be revenged of death, which
levels

levels all ranks, by making this pre-eminence survive them.

It is impossible not to feel a kind of religious awe when we descend into this vault, in which deceased grandeur seems to struggle against annihilation? A few rays of half extinguished light with difficulty penetrate this cold abode. To supply the defect, a superb lustre, pendant from the cupola, is lighted up on extraordinary occasions; but except in these cases the curious are conducted by a flambeau into the middle of the motionless and silent assembly of sovereigns of both sexes. By the unsteady light of the flambeau we discover, opposite the door by which we enter, an altar and a crucifix of black marble upon a pedestal of porphyry. The rest corresponds to this melancholy magnificence. The cases which contain the bodies of the kings and queens are placed on each side the altar, in three stories, and in different compartments, formed by fine fluted pilasters of marble;

ble; the cases are of bronze, simple, yet noble in their form. The pantheon is not yet full, but the empty cases are ready to open to receive their deposits. A salutary yet terrible lesson, which kings have not refused to receive from the bold designs of an able architect.

Philip II. reposes in the most elevated tomb of the first division. He it was who laid the foundation of the pantheon; but it was not finished till the reign of Philip IV. as we are informed by the inscription over the inner door of the stair-case. It has yet been opened but to two sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, the young king Louis I. who ascended the throne in 1721, and died the same year, and queen Amelia, wife to the present monarch; as if the ashes of two royal houses, so long divided by political interest, were still averse to uniting even in the tomb. Philip V. and his queen are interred at St. Ildefonso; Ferdinand VI. and queen
Barbara

Barbara his wife, at Madrid, in a convent which they had founded.

The following well-known line cannot be applied to this temple of death ;

*Le temps qui détruit tout en affermit les murs**.

The ravages of time, seconded by the damps, has not spared even the marble. Here we are at once led to reflect on the frailty of man, whatever may be his rank, and the perishable nature of his works, which in his pride he dares consecrate to immortality.

The choir of the monks of the Escorial is above the great door of the church, and opposite the high altar. The walls are decorated with paintings in fresco, the subjects of which have relation to S. Jerome and St. Lawrence. The pulpit, notwithstanding its enormous size, turns upon a pivot with

* Time, which destroys all things, has given strength to the walls.

surprising facility. Behind the choir is a master-piece of sculpture; a Christ in marble, of the natural size; it was executed by Benvenuto-Cellini, by whom the constable de Bourbon was killed upon the walls of Rome.

From the sides of the choir begins a gallery which runs along the two fronts of the church, and communicates by four doors to the first story of the monastery; it is intersected by several spaces between the joints and pillars which contain a part of the congregation during the time of divine service. Thither I frequently went, that I might be penetrated with the profound sentiments which enter the minds of persons, the least devout, at the awful aspect of a temple. That of the Escorial disposes more than any other to such meditations. Its mass, the solidity of which has already survived its founder, who sleeps within its walls, almost two centuries, and will survive him for twenty more; the memory of this imperious
mo-

monarch, which for a long time past has there received no other tribute than funeral prayers, and whose shade is supposed to wander in this melancholy monument of his fear and his piety; the sound of a hundred voices which make the roofs re-echo with the praises of the eternal being; all dispose the mind to serious reflection, with which it is a thousand times more satisfied than with vain and giddy dissipation. Ye who look with envy upon transient grandeur, and who wish to vanquish that restless ambition which embitters your days and may render them culpable, visit this temple and resign yourselves to meditation; you will find your heart softened and your reason fortified; your eyes will be filled with tears, and you will return more resigned to your fate, more humane and more happy.

On leaving the gallery to go to the royal apartments, we pass a long corridor, remarkable for the paintings in fresco on the walls. It is called the

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hall of battles, because the paintings represent several of those of the ancient kings of Spain against the Moors. The perspective is badly observed, but the attitudes, dresses and the lively colouring excite the admiration of all connoisseurs.

I shall not describe a small chapel adjoining to the choir, in which is a large painting of St. Ferdinand, the master-piece of Luca Giordano, and a few other middling performances, nor several other places in which paintings are to be found. The art of fatiguing is that of saying every thing.

I cannot, however, avoid mentioning the two great cloisters: one above, the other below: paved with marble, and of vast dimensions. The paintings in fresco of the lower cloister are, perhaps, more extolled than they deserve. If the connoisseur seeks the effects of perspective, and brilliant colouring, he will be deceived in his expectations; but if he admires

admires heads full of expression, and the great and vigorous forms of the school of Michael Angelo, he will return more than once to examine the principal events of the life of our Saviour, painted in almost colossal figures by Pellegrino Tibaldi, round the cloister.

Both the cloisters are entered by narrow and obscure corridors. The chief defect in the architecture of the Escorial, is that, in general, the principal objects are not so placed as to have the best effect. The portal is seen but by accident; nothing announces the great stair-case, you arrive at the foot of it before you suppose it to be near. There is a fine inner court, ornamented with two rows of porticos, of noble architecture; the center is occupied by a small circular temple, with four doors, of which the inner columns correspond to four stone basins, each as it were under the protection of an angel. This is perhaps the most regular piece of architecture in the Escorial: but it seems

to be wilfully concealed from the eyes of the curious; it is seen but from the windows of the two great cloisters, to which it serves as a center; and even then you are in doubt whether it be a court or a garden, for it is divided into four parts, laid out and planted like a parterre.

The great cloister below, which has a view into the court, has four principal doors; two of which communicate with the church and vestry. By a third you enter the capitulary hall, which contains several paintings by Titian, and one by Velasquez, representing the sons of Jacob bringing him the bloody garment of their brother Joseph. The effect of the perspective, and the correctness of the drawing, in this piece, are admirable; but more nobleness of design might be wished. A Virgin by Raphael, a St. Jerom by Guerchino, a crowning with thorns by Vandyck, three pieces by Rubens, and three by Spagnoletto are also found here. But the pieces
most

most to be admired in the capitulary hall, are three masterly paintings by Guido ; two heads full of truly celestial expression, one of St. Peter, the other of St. Paul ; and a Virgin seated, before whom stands the infant Jesus, in a pensive and fine attitude.

The fourth door, which answers to the great lower cloister, is that of the old church of the monastery. This also contains paintings worthy of attention ; several by Titian, among others, the great altar-piece, which represents the martyrdom of St. Laurence ; three by Spagnoletto, remarkable for beauty of colouring ; and one, a wonderful piece, by Raphael, which, for its learned composition, its beauty, nobleness of design, correctness of drawing, and every excellence that characterises the inimitable talent of this great master is superior to all in the Escorial. I have seen connoisseurs view with transport, and shed tears of admiration, before this sublime master-piece, without these de-

licious impressions being weakened by a reflection natural enough, on the fantastical union of persons it presents: these are the Virgin Mary, Christ, and St. Jerom in a cardinal's habit, reading to them the bible, while the angel Raphael conducts to the feet of the divine group the young Tobit, who comes with a timid air to render the tribute of his fish. The last circumstance has given the painting the appellation of *Madonna del Pes* (our lady of the fish).

It is inconceiveable how the genius of Raphael could stoop to this strange composition, which, undoubtedly, was prescribed him, and yet that the execution should bear no marks of such compulsion. If his exquisite taste was not disgusted by a dissonance which shocks the least delicate one, what becomes of the rules of art, and the precepts of reason? After such an example, how is it possible not to look upon them as so many chains, which genius in its soarings may shake off with impunity.

punity. Does not it justify all the extravagance which fantastical or ignorant artists have dared to display upon canvases, one arming Abraham with a pistol, with which he is going to shoot Isaac, another representing the Virgin with a chaplet in her hand, and a third introducing our modern artillery in the combat of Satan and the angels?

Let us now leave the old church of the Escorial in which it is easy to forget at sight of the *Madonna del Pez*, that the monastery contains other objects worthy the attention of the curious. After having admired the superb piece of Titian (the last Supper) which takes up the whole breadth of the refectory of the monks, we will ascend to the upper cloister, the walls of which are also ornamented with paintings. There are several not above mediocrity; but some by Luca Giordano are seen with pleasure, as also may two or three by Spagnoletto, and one by Navarette, known

by the name of the dumb, and whom Philip II. called the Titian of Spain.

The stair-case which leads from the lower to the upper cloister, must not be passed over in silence. The four sides of the frize and the cieling are painted in fresco by Giordano, and represent the battle of St. Quintin, the accomplishment of the vow of Philip II. and the arrival of that monarch at the celestial court.

On the first landing-place of the stair-case there are little cloisters, which lead to the library of the Escorial, less remarkable for the number of volumes it contains than for the choice of them, and more particularly the Arabic and Greek manuscripts. All the arts concerned in the decoration; and if there be a defect, it is perhaps that of being too much ornamented. Every vacant space is filled with paintings; the ceiling, which is vaulted, is ornamented with Arabesques, and figures for the most
part

part colossal. Tibaldi, the master of Michael Angelo, has here displayed the frequently exaggerated vigour of his pencil; his forced attitudes resemble contortions; his forms are so great as to become gigantic and almost monstrous; these diminish the effect of the whole, by narrowing the fine dimensions of the library and destroying its other decorations. The shelves which contain the books, and which are of precious wood, beautifully carved, appear trifling beneath the colossuses of Tibaldi. Above the shelves are paintings in fresco by Barthelemi Carducho, which also suffer from the cause already mentioned; the subjects are taken from sacred or profane history, or have relation to the sciences of which the shelves below present to us the elements. Thus the council of Nice is represented above the books which treat of theology; the death of Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, indicates those which relate to mathematics; and Cicero pronouncing his oration in favour of Rabirius, the

works

works relative to eloquence and the bar.

The middle of the library is occupied by globes and tables; upon one of the latter is a small equestrian statue of Philip IV. upon another, a little temple of solid silver, ornamented with lapis-lazzuli and precious stones. Round these are ranged all the ancestors of the queen Ann of Neubourg, wife of Charles II. up to Charlemagne, who is placed in the center of the temple.

In the intervals between the shelves are portraits of Charles V. and of the three Philips his successors to the throne of Spain. Ye philosophers who, after having read what I have written, shall visit this library, stop before the portrait of Philip II, painted with great exactness by Pantoja de la Cruz; contemplate his grave and austere physiognomy, and you will read an abridgement of the history of his reign; but communicate not the result of your reflections

tions to the Monks who accompany you, this would be a bad return for the obliging reception you will receive from them. If you have brought with you to the Escorial prejudices against the Spaniards in general, or against the Monks in particular, you will certainly lay them aside after having passed a quarter of an hour with the Jeronymites of this monastery; you will be convinced that under the Spanish mantle, or even the religious habit, more obliging manners, more complaisance and more real goodness are concealed, than are promised by the elegance of a French dress. For the truth of what I here say, I may appeal to two Danish professors, who, a few years ago, were sent to the Escorial to make learned researches, and were, perhaps, better received by the Monks, notwithstanding the difference of their manners, language, and religion, than they would have been at the university of Copenhagen. They were lodged in the convent, and provided with every thing they could wish with the most generous hospitality.

All

All the treasures of the library were opened to them, and they passed two months in examining and making extracts from the manuscripts which excited their curiosity. They returned home with hearts deeply impressed with gratitude, and port-folios enriched with the fruits of their laborious researches.

The obliging generosity they experienced on this occasion was the more remarkable, as the manuscripts entrusted to their inspection are still unknown to the public, except by a few extracts given of them by a learned Monk named Cassiri. These consist of two volumes in folio, but are far from compleating the extensive plan the monk proposed to himself. After his death they were consigned to another of the fathers of the Escorial, and the learned impatiently expect the result of his labours.

The library of the Escorial is open every morning and evening during the

residence of the court, and the librarians refuse books to no person.

The manuscripts are not kept in the great library which is open to every comer, but in a large hall above always shut up, and to which all the books proscribed by Spanish orthodoxy are sent. The portraits of such natives of Spain as have distinguished themselves in the sciences, arts, or in literature are hung round the hall, and the number of the learned in Spain is more considerable than our supercilious contempt for this nation will easily believe.

This contempt may, perhaps, imagine it has found a subject for triumph in the library of the Escorial, on viewing the books placed the contrary way, so that the edges of the leaves are outwards and contain their titles written on them. I have laid it down as a rule, particularly in travelling, never to form my judgment from mere appearances. I asked the reason for this custom; and
was

was told that Arias Montanus, a learned Spaniard of the sixteenth century, whose library had served as a foundation for that of the Escorial, had all his books placed and inscribed in that manner, which no doubt appeared to him to be the most commodious method of arranging them; that he had introduced his own method into the Escorial; and since his time, and for the sake of uniformity, it had been followed with respect to the books afterwards added. This explanation proves nothing but the oddity of one man, and an attachment, common to most men, to established customs especially when in themselves they are almost indifferent.

The large and beautiful stair-case which leads to the great upper cloister communicates with the choir of the Monks of which we have spoken, and has a lesser capitulary hall which you cross in descending to the king's apartment. Those whose admiration has not been exhausted by the noble paintings they

they have just seen, will remark as they pass by, an annunciation, by Paul Veronese, a nativity, by Tintoret, a descent from the cross, and a St. Margaret, frightened by the apparition of a dragon, by Titian; but more especially one by the same master, which is called *the glory of Titian*, either on account of its excellence or because it represents Charles V. and Philip II. admitted to celestial glory, in presence of the principal patriarchs of the ancient law, with characteristic attributes, admirably grouped on each side and in front of the painting.

A small cabinet adjoining to this hall contains several relics, one of the miraculous urns at the marriage of Cana, an old manuscript of the life of St. Theresa, written by herself, &c.

You afterwards arrive at the stair-case which leads to the king's apartment, and in the way to it pass through a kind of gallery hung with paintings. The principal

cipal ones are, a descent from the cross, an exquisite production of the pencil of Spagnoletto ; and a large picture representing Lot and his daughters, which a connoisseur would be tempted to attribute to Guido, but which is thought to be by the Chevalier Maxime. Whoever the painter may be it is one of the most admirable pictures in the Escorial. In a corner of the same gallery there are several others worthy of attention ; particularly a small picture by Rubens, in which several martyrs, and particularly St. Laurence and St. Sextus, are grouped in suppliant attitudes round the throne of the Virgin. I should never finish were I to give an account of all the curiosities of this kind contained in the Escorial, I have, perhaps, already said too much, both for those who will never see it and for others who are as well acquainted with it as myself. Those who wish for a more complete nomenclature of the curiosities of the monastery, called by some the eighth wonder of the world, may consult the description in folio given
of

of it by father Ximenez, one of the monks, still living, and travels in Spain by the abbé Pons, a man of sense and learning, and a lover of the fine arts, who has employed a whole volume on this subject. What I have said is sufficient to inform my foreign readers that it is the rich collection of pictures which justifies the fame of the Escorial, and that if those whose devotion has embellished it, should despoil it of this part of its riches, if the court should not come to reside there every year, and bring the train of attendants and pomp which accompanies it, the Escorial would be nothing more than a great convent, awful by its mass and solidity, as is the case with nearly twenty others in different parts of Christendom.

The narrow terrace on each side, whence the eye commands, towards the east, a very extensive but little varied prospect, would not be sufficient to rank it above this class. The abbé de Vayrac and Colmenar, particularly speak of its

immense park. For my part I saw nothing in the environs but woods full of rocky eminences, intersected with meadows, which are seldom green, and stocked with innumerable herds of deer. There results, perhaps, from the whole a more agreeable effect, less monotonous and more pleasing than that produced by the wide walks, stars, and obelisks, so much admired in the parks of the sovereigns of France and Germany; but on the other hand, there is nothing which presents the appearance of grandeur and magnificence, which we naturally expect should accompany a royal mansion.

From the terrace of the convent you descend by steps cut in the side to a garden not very large, much decorated, nor even carefully cultivated. At the end of the terrace, to the west, is a wooden building adjoining to the grand edifice, but of a different kind of architecture. This is perhaps the only part of the Escorial where real elegance attracts our notice.

notice. It communicates with it by a gallery which leads to a new building, parallel with the principal front of the convent, and which serves as lodging apartments to the house of the Infants.

This building, placed immediately at the foot of the mountains which shade the Escorial, and in the direction of the winds which force their way into the narrow passes, contributes to abate their violence. It however does not prevent their effects from being very sensible, especially in the season which the court passes at the Escorial. They are the more troublesome, as they pass along the front to the north, and impetuously sweep the oblong space which separates it from the apartments allotted to the ministers, and some of the clerks in office, and which you are obliged to cross to go from the convent to the village. If the exaggerated accounts given to strangers are to be believed,

lieved, these furious winds not only stop those who pass, make them stagger, and sometimes throw them down, but they blow with such violence against the carriages stationed before the palace, that they sometimes remove them from their places to the great astonishment of their drivers.

To avoid this inconvenience, and render the communication from the convent to the village less troublesome, a few years ago a subterraneous and vaulted gallery of hewn stone was constructed, which runs under the whole length of the oblong space called *Lonja*. Those who go to the palace may, sheltered by this impenetrable roof, worthy of royal magnificence, in all weathers, brave the fury of the elements, and disregard the winds which roar above their heads. The idea is said to have been given by M. de Massones, who died soon after the gallery was finished, and whom we have seen ambassador in France,

France, prior to the marquis of Grimaldi.

The situation of the Escorial renders the walks in the environs painful ; you may wander with pleasure, however, in a valley between the front to the south and a mountain, which opposes to it its high and woody top. The inequality of the ground produces every moment new points of view, and favours the rapid fall of several rivulets which meander through the copse.

A soft melancholy invades us, while we listen to the distant murmurs of these rills which are heightened by the rustling of the trees, more frequently agitated by the north wind than caressed by zephyrs ; to these are added the hollow lowings of the deer, which, during the seasons of their amours, restlessly wander under their shades. This valley is continued by a gentle descent from the *Cazin* of the Infant Don Gabriel to that of the prince of Asturias. These are two little houses,

each a quarter of a league from the Escorial, which are the rendezvous of the two princes for their innocent parties of pleasure. They are decorated within with more elegance than is expected from their modest exterior. That especially of the prince of Asturias contains within a very small space, the richest and most highly finished sculpture, gilding, joinery, and locksmith's work; the prince has also collected a great number of paintings, some of which with respect to their size and subject, might be better placed than in this pleasing habitation, where an amiable luxury should exclusively reign, but which is terrified at the view of the great paintings in which Luca Giordano has displayed his fertile imagination, and especially at that of the heads of the apostles, the melancholy productions of Spagnoletto, whose grave pencil seems to have been destined to penitentiary subjects. We are even less at our ease in the presence of several holy virgins by Murillo, notwithstanding the ingenuous sweetness of their features,

tures, and the soft and delightful colouring which characterises the productions of this amiable artist. But, undoubtedly, these great pictures are only placed there until the prince shall have disposed of them in a manner more agreeable to the dignity of their subjects. After they are taken away, there will remain a number sufficient to complete the embellishment of this palace in miniature. There are five landscapes, and other paintings, more analogous to its destination. Some copies of the masterly paintings at Madrid are also found here, as well as two sea pieces by Vernet, of which the king a few years ago made a present to his highness. We have observed in another place that this prince, a lover and patron of the arts, conceived on that occasion the project of having a cabinet painted entirely by the hand of Vernet, and this cabinet is one of those of the lodge of which we speak. Each of the pannels is a complete painting, one represents the sea violently agitated ; another a calm, and [a fine

moon-light; a third a fire in the night. Other paintings of lesser dimensions fill the narrow spaces between the door and the window. The inimitable talent of Vernet is conspicuous in them all, and if posterity should be ignorant of their date, they will be thought to be of his best productions, although he received his orders for them no longer than four or five years ago. It is however to be regretted that the three principal pieces are placed too low, as well as too near, to be in the proper point of view, without going out of the cabinet which contains them.

The little lodge of the infant Don Gabriel is less than that of the prince his brother, and not so much ornamented; but the same observations may be made concerning it. There are three or four of the best pieces of Spagnoletto, especially a St. Peter, remarkable for accuracy and expression, though it might be more admired in another place. But who shall dare to banish from the collection

lection two heads, one by Corregio, the other by Murillo, both ravishing by their grace and softness? The infant Don Gabriel, in whom is united the knowledge of a connoisseur and the zeal of an *amateur*, who, not satisfied with encouraging the arts also cultivates them himself, has hung with drawings by the greatest masters one of the cabinets of his lodge.

We will now take leave of the rocks and mountains of the Escorial, and conduct the reader to Madrid by one of the finest roads, but across one of the most barren countries in Europe. There is, however, as we descend from the hill on which the monastery stands, a small forest which presents agreeable prospects. It is pleasing enough to see numerous herds of stags, paying but little attention to the noise of carriages which pass, and feeding among horses and oxen. Travellers might almost suppose that these animals were sensible of their security, and that they said to them: We are very timid, but fear you not; an
almighty

almighty power watches over our preservation. They are equally amusing, when upon a false alarm they file off, bounding on their elastic feet before the passenger whom they challenge to a race. Some ponds, with their uncultivated banks, are seen through the trees and inspire agreeable reveries. Farther on a solitary little house offers an asylum to lost wanderers. This is the farm-house of the monks of the Escorial, who sometimes pass there the hot-days of summer. It has a simplicity proper to their situation, and nothing within it betrays the opulence they enjoy : for the monastery is one of the richest in Spain. According to a calculation, the exactness of which cannot be suspected, their annual revenues amount to upwards of seven hundred thousand livres (above 29,000*l*.)

After having quitted this forest we meet with no more trees until we approach the Manzanares. This very small river runs at some distance under the heights upon which Madrid is situated.

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It is almost shallow enough for carriages to ford over. It has, however, two great bridges, that of Segovia and the bridge of Toledo. The latter, built by Philip II, who was fond of ostentation, is so disproportioned to the breadth of the Manzanares, that it was pleasantly said, *that fine bridge only wanted a river*. In passing through Spain several others are met with upon which the same observation might be made; but the reason is thus explained by M. Silhouette, who, before he became minister, had travelled in Spain, and having, as well as many others, been surprised at the apparent disproportion between the bridge and the river earnestly sought to discover the cause. Spain is intersected in almost every direction by long chains of mountains, whose summits, notwithstanding the heat of the climate, are frequently covered with snow. The rivulets, and little rivers which descend from their sides, have usually but a small stream of water, because droughts are frequent in the provinces through which they run; but

but when abundant rains, or the melting of the snow increase their little streams, the beds of the rivers are the more extended on account of their not being deep, and of their carrying with them a great quantity of sand; and according to these circumstances, although not common, the dimensions of the bridges were calculated. They are solidly constructed on account of the sudden risings of the rivers, and their apparently disproportionate length is to obviate the inconvenience which might arise from an overflowing.

Whole ages and nations must not be accused of ignorance and stupidity, because we cannot at first discover the reason for certain customs and practices. How many things ridiculous at first sight appear highly reasonable after a proper examination?

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REFERENCES

To the Principal Streets,
SQUARES and EDIFICES.

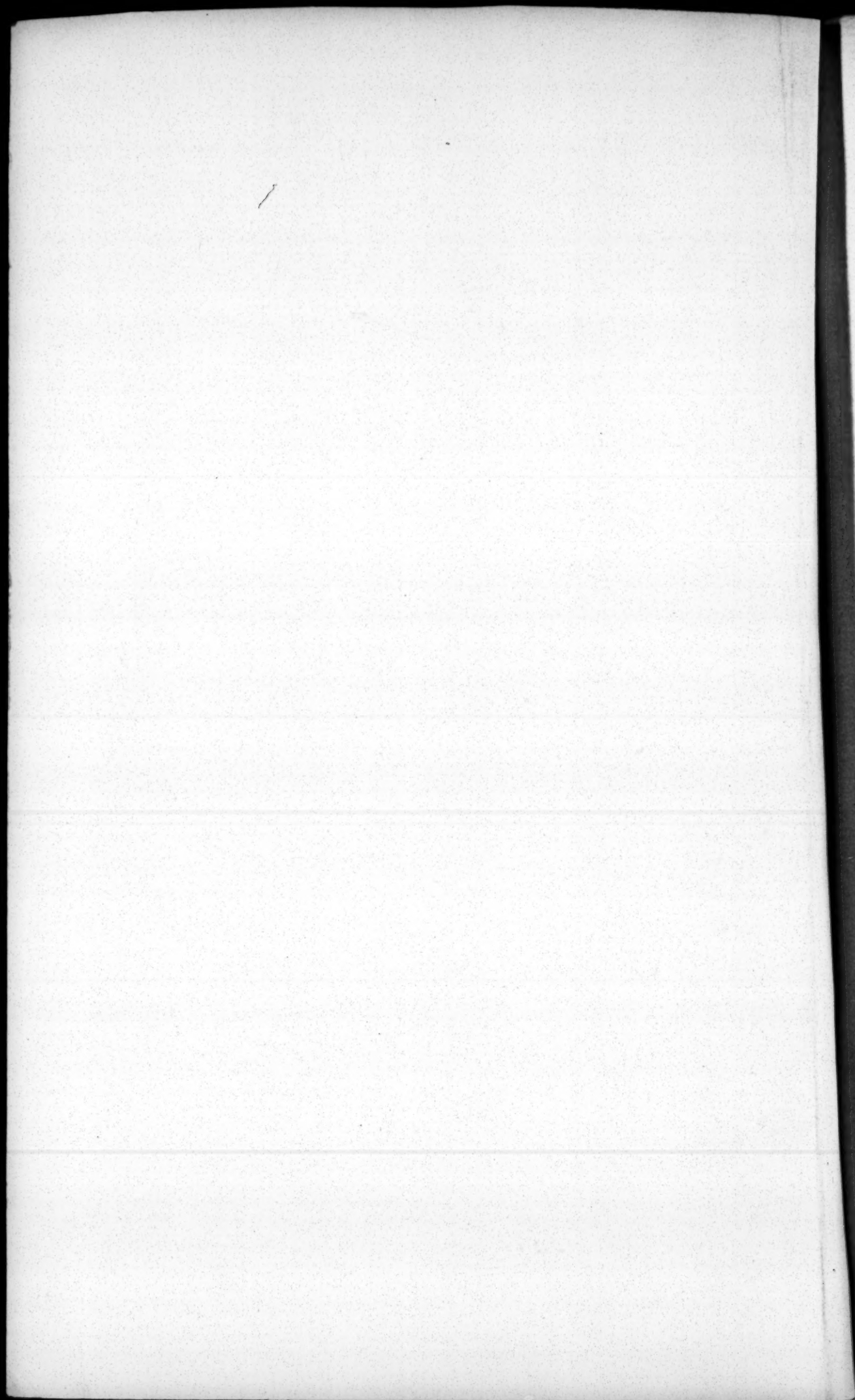
1. Puerta (Gate) de San Bernardino.
2. Palacio del Duque de Berwick.
3. Puerta del Conde Duque.
4. Quartel de los Guardias de Corps.
5. Plaza Square del Duque de Liria y Berwick.
6. Plaza de los Guardias de Corps.
7. Plaza de S. Juan de nueva.
8. Plaza de los Comendadores de Santiago.
9. Plaza de los asfidos.
10. Plaza de las Capuchinas.
11. Plaza de los Mostenses.
12. Plaza de Leganitos.
13. Calle (Street) de Leganitos.
14. Puerta de Fuencarral.
15. Calle San Bernardo.
16. Puerta de los Pozos.
17. Calle de Fuencarral.
18. Plaza de S. Yldefonso.
19. Plaza de armas del Quartel de Guardias de Infanteria Española.
20. Plaza de Santa Barbara.
21. Puerta de Santa Barbara.
22. Convento y Sitio de las Monjas de San Francisco de Sales.
23. Calle de Ortaleza.
24. Plaza de la Salesas.
25. Plaza del Duque de Frias.
26. Puerta de Recoletos.
27. Huertas (Gardens) de los Padres de San Phelipe Neri.
28. Huertas del Convento de Recoletos.
29. Plaza de Toros.
30. Puerta de Alcala y Registro.
31. Estanque grande. (Great Pond)
32. Fabrica Real de la China. (Royal Manufactory of Porcelain)
33. Plaza de Chamberi.
34. Calle de Alcala.
35. Puerta del Sol.

PLAN of MADRID.



REFERENCES CONTINUED.

36. Calle Mayor.
 37. Plaza Mayor.
 38. Plaza de Guadalajara.
 39. Plaza de San Domingo.
 40. Calle Ancha de San Bernardo.
 41. Plaza de San Martin.
 42. Calle de la montera red de San Luis.
 43. Calle de Atocha.
 44. Plaza de Anton Martin.
 45. Puerta de Segovia.
 46. Hermita de Nuestra Senora de Puerta.
 47. Plazuela de la Costanilla de S. Andres.
 48. Puerta de San Vicente.
 49. Barrio (Quater) y Plaza de las Vistillas.
 50. Barrio de San Francisco.
 51. Plazuela de Armas.
 52. Puerta de Moros.
 53. Plaza de la Cevada.
 54. Cerillo del Rastro (Hill of the Shambles).
 55. Plaza y Fuente de Lavapiés.
 56. Plaza de S. Isabel.
 57. Puerta de Valencia.
 58. Puerta de Embaxadores.
 59. Hospital General.
 60. Puerta y Registro de Atocha.
 61. Paseo (Walk) de las Delicias.
 62. Convento d N.ª Senora de Atocha.
 63. Road to the Palace of the Prado.
- A. Cabinet of Natural History and Academy of Painting.
- B. Aduana.
- C. Panaderia, in which the Academy of History meets.
- D. Botanical Garden.
- E. Invernaculo.
- F. Buen Retiro.
- G. El Prado.
- H. Bridge of Toledo.
- I. Gardens of the Palace as yet only planned.



nares, we proceed along a part of the fine road, planted with trees, which leads from the capital to Pardo, a royal mansion where the court resides from the 7th of January to the holy week. There is nothing remarkable in this edifice. The road runs for some time along the banks of the Manzanares, and on the opposite side we see an ancient country residence of the kings of Spain, around which the large trees cover, to a certain degree, the nakedness of the horizon. This is the *Casa del Campo*, which the last kings of the house of Austria very much frequented, but which has been neglected by those of the family of Bourbon.

The gate of St. Vincent, by which we enter, is new and tolerably elegant. We afterwards painfully ascend to the palace, which standing alone upon an eminence, without either terrace, park or garden, has rather the appearance of a citadel than that of a place of residence for one of the most powerful monarchs in

in the world. But this first impression is dissipated as we approach, and when we have entered the edifice. Its form is almost square, and there is a spacious court in the middle, around which are large piazzas. The apartments and offices of the principal persons of the court are upon the ground floor, which they wholly occupy. A fine marble stair-case, the ascent of which is perhaps too gentle, leads to the first story. The sides of the stair-case are decorated with the richest sculpture and architecture.

We afterwards pass on to the king's apartments, which are of the most magnificent dimensions. The hall, in which the throne is placed, and which is called *salon de los reynos*, may be admired even by those who have seen the gallery of Versailles. The different dresses of the vast Spanish monarchy are painted in fresco upon the ceiling by a Venetian named Tiepolo; a species of decoration which can only have place in the palace of the sovereigns of Spain. Fine
vases,

vases, little statues, and antique busts are distributed upon all the tables. The rest of the ornaments are of Spanish production, The glasses, perhaps the largest in Europe, were manufactured at St. Ildefonso, as well as what is called the Bohemian glass, of the window. The tapestry of which the figures were copied from good paintings, was made in a manufactory near the gates of Madrid; and the inexhaustible and variegated quarries of the Peninsula furnished marble for the tables.

The apartments adjoining to the gallery are not less richly furnished. The nearest is that in which the king dines. The famous Mengs, who has painted the ceiling, the subject of which is the assembly of the gods and goddesses on Olympus, has displayed such rich and brilliant colouring, and such graceful forms, as prove him equal in execution to the greatest painters of Italy. During the summer, the portraits of Philip II. Philip III. and his queen, Philip IV. and

and the duke d'Olivarez, all on horse-back, painted by Velasquez, and those of Philip V. and the queen Isabella Farnese his second wife, by Charles Vanloo, are substituted for the tapestry. It is not necessary to be a connoisseur to be struck with the astonishing superiority of the first of these. The fine form of the horse of Philip the Fourth, and the animation of his whole body, cannot be too much admired.

The next apartment is that where the king gives audience. The ceiling, which represents the apotheosis of Hercules, is also painted by Mengs. This charming painter, whose women and children are models of grace and delicacy, does not equally succeed in the portraits of men. To render them nervous, he somewhat exaggerates their form, and makes them appear rather heavy. His last painting, on which he was employed at Rome when the fine arts and his friends were deprived of him by death, is placed in the same apartment;

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it is an annunciation. The Virgin has an admirable expression of modesty and sweetness; neither Corregio nor Albano ever produced any thing more pleasing. Some of the angels about the celestial throne are equally finished. But it is to be wished the angel Gabriel had a countenance and attitude more suitable to his message. The Supreme Being has not that supernatural grandeur which Guido or Paul Veronese would have given him. However, there is in this apartment a large painting by the same master, which could not have been more highly finished by either of the two latter; this is an adoration of the shepherds, in which the men, women and children are equally beautiful and full of expression. His works compose the principal decoration of the king's bed-chamber; it seems as if the monarch wished to mark the distinguished protection he gave to this great painter, by surrounding himself by his productions. They have all undoubtedly some merit, but are eclipsed by a descent from

the cross, which, according to connoisseurs, is his greatest production. The eye is never tired with contemplating the deep and tender grief of St. John, whose eyes, wearied with weeping, seem to shew the source of tears to be exhausted; the sublime attitude of the Virgin, who expects no comfort for her sorrows, but from heaven; and the softer, but not more affecting affliction of the Magdalen, who preserves all her charms in the midst of the general grief she participates. I have frequently heard the colour of the dead body criticised. *This Christ*, said they, *seems to be of stone*. I was induced to think the same, until one day accompanying some foreigners who adopted the criticism, I heard one of them exclaim with transport in commendation of the truth of the colouring; surely, said he, in a low voice, *this painter must have seen many dead bodies, to have been able to imitate them so well*. The author of the reflection was an experienced surgeon, who, until that moment, had not opened his lips upon the subject.

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The critics were silent, and we recollected the ancient proverb, *ne futor ultra crepidam*.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the pictures in the palace of Madrid, an account of the principal ones alone would fill a volume; but I thought the works of Mengs, scarcely known except in Spain and at Rome, merited an exception. I shall only take notice of a cabinet entirely decorated with porcelain, a curiosity more singular than pleasing, which the *Cicerone* of Madrid wishes to have admired, but concerning which it is most prudent to be silent. We will pass on to other apartments, where admiration stands in no need of being excited.

The chamber, that from the apartment in which the throne is placed, leads to the residence of the prince and princess of Asturias, is too much filled with the admirable paintings crowded into it. Among the twelve capital pictures of

P 2

Titian,

Titian, is a Venus blindfolding the eyes of Love ; Venus, at her toilette, whose image is half reflected in the glass ; a Sisyphus ; a Prometheus ; a painting of Adam and Eve, which has for its companion the copy which Rubens disdained not to make from it ; and several heads all possessing that exactness of expression and colouring which Titian alone knew how to give. Two pictures by Paul Veronese, several by Bassan, and a Judith by Tintoret, are seen with pleasure in the same chamber. The next apartment contains a few by Luca Giordano, among which are a dying Seneca ; three or four of the school of Rubens ; and Isaac blessing Jacob, whom he takes for Esau, by Spagnoletto. The dining room of the prince of Asturias is in like manner hung with pictures ; there are several by Murillo and Spagnoletto, a few by Titian, two by Teniers, and particularly two admirable pieces by Velasquez, one of which represents the forge of Vulcan, the other a Spanish general,

general, to whom the keys of a city are given up.

In the adjoining apartments, among a great number of paintings by the first masters, are an adoration by Rubens, and a carrying of the cross by Raphael, which alone are worth a collection. In the first Rubens has displayed all the magic of his pencil, his richness of drapery, and all the magnificence of composition. It is impossible not to be struck by the noble air and grandeur of one of the kings. His carriage, attitude, and retinue seem to announce him commissioned by the universe to congratulate its divine author upon an event of such importance to all mankind; he seems to command at once respect, admiration, and devotion.

The painting of Raphael inspires sentiments more affecting, though not less profound. The Saviour of the world sinking beneath the weight of his cross rather than that of his grief, and preserv-

ing in the midst of his persecutors, who force him along and ill treat him, a resignation and serenity which would disarm cruelty itself, appears less concerned for his own sufferings than earnest in endeavouring to console his afflicted mother, who strives to soften his persecutors, and the supplicating women who are overwhelmed with grief. This sublime conception penetrates the coldest hearts with the august truths of religion, and preaches them in a more eloquent manner than that in which they have ever been delivered from the mouths of sacred orators. The impression which results from these two great compositions, renders the mind almost insensible to the beauties of other paintings near them, in which Titian, Vandyck and Raphael himself have displayed less affecting ideas. A tribute of admiration must however be paid to two master-pieces of Corregio, one of which represents our Saviour in the garden of olives, and the other the Virgin dressing the child Jesus.

Paint-

Paintings of a different kind in the apartments of the Infanta, daughter to the king, receive a different homage. In the first chamber, one by Giordano, in imitation of Rubens, presents the painter himself, working at the portrait of a princess; there are also several voluptuous paintings by this master of the Flemish school; a combat of gladiators, in which the vigour of Lanfranc's pencil is easily discovered; and a capital piece by Poussin, the subject of which forms a singular contrast to the devotional paintings of which we have already spoken. This is a dance formed by a troop of nymphs about the statue of the god of gardens; the variety of their attitudes, all expressive and graceful, their easy shape and the beauty of their form, all breathe the pleasures of youth and love; some crown with garlands the statue of the lascivious god, others—— But we will draw a veil over this part of the painting, which the modesty of the painter has purposely placed in the shade.

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The adjoining apartments are filled with paintings of lesser merit, if we except a grand composition by Paul Veronese, and a piece by Lanfranc, the figures of which, although a little tinged with grimace, discover in them the vigorous and energetic touch of the painter. The dining-room of the Infanta is highly embellished by the indefatigable pencil of Luca Giordano, whose fertile imagination at first astonishes, but afterwards becomes fatiguing. In a cabinet adjoining to the dining-room are also some pieces by Rubens; for this painter, who was twice in Spain, left there, perhaps, more productions of his brilliant and easy pencil, than any where else. This cabinet contains likewise one of the best portraits Titian ever produced; that of Charles V. reaching to below the knees. An engraving was lately made from it by a young engraver of Madrid, named Selena, who promises to become an excellent artist.

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The apartments of the Infanta contain as great a number of admirable paintings as those already mentioned; some are by Murillo, and several by Rubens, which abound in fire and expression. With these I shall conclude my list, lest I should fatigue my readers with a barren catalogue which can only excite disgust; it is sufficient to remind them, that according to the opinion of those who have seen the different collections of the sovereigns of Europe, there is no one which is superior to that in the palace of Madrid, either with respect to choice or number.

It is true there are but few paintings of the French school, but the best productions of those of Italy, Flanders and Spain are found in abundance; those of the latter especially, less known than the two others, although of equal merit, are worthy of all the attention of connoisseurs; they perhaps may not excel in nobleness of form, or in grace, but whoever has seen the productions
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of Spagnoletto, Velasquez and Murillo, both at Madrid and in the Escorial, cannot but admit that the Spanish school is not inferior to any other in correctness of design, the art of perspective, and especially in the vivid carnation of its colouring.

The chapel of the palace contains nothing remarkable of this kind, but its architectural proportions are exact and beautiful; and what more particularly contributes to its decoration, are sixteen columns of black marble, which extend to the frieze. It is to be regretted that in order to procure this number, the eight blocks which were whole, have been perpendicularly sawn. However, as by their position they were not to stand without support, they are placed against the wall, in which they seem to be half sunk.

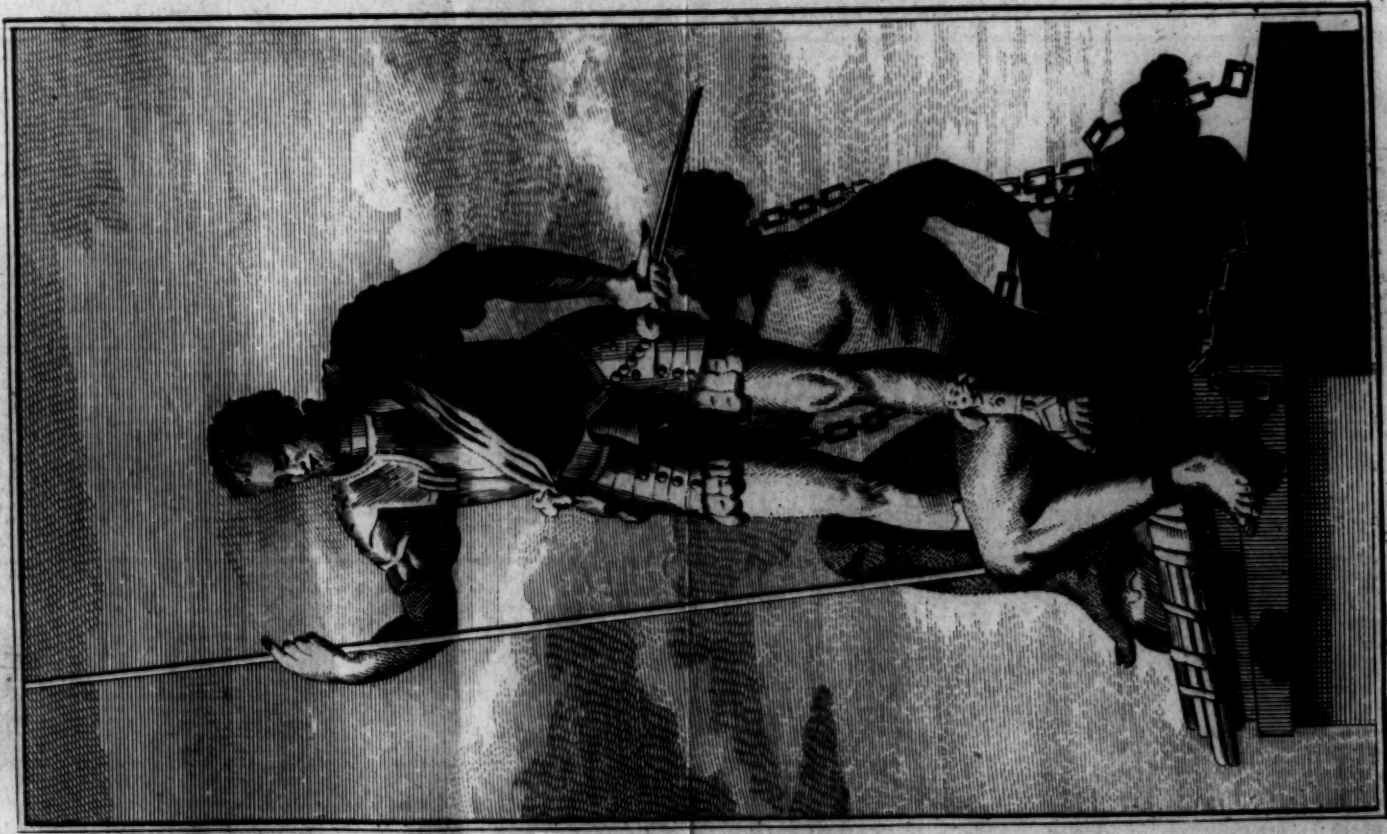
The palace of Madrid is entirely new. That which Philip V. inhabited, having been burned, the monarch wished to have

have it rebuilt upon the same foundation. An architect, from Piedmont, laid before him a most magnificent plan, the model of which is preserved in a neighbouring building. Philip V. was deterred by the expence necessary to carry the plan into execution, and adopted one more simple. But it is to be regretted that the palace, in its present state, cost as much as that of the Italian architect would have done, and yet it is not finished. When I left Spain two wings were building to it, which will give to the whole a more majestic form, but must hide the principal front in such a manner as to render it inaccessible, except from a great square, that can never be made regular, without an enormous expence. At the end of the square is a large edifice, not sufficiently seen, which contains a curious collection of ancient and foreign arms, arranged with great order and carefully preserved.

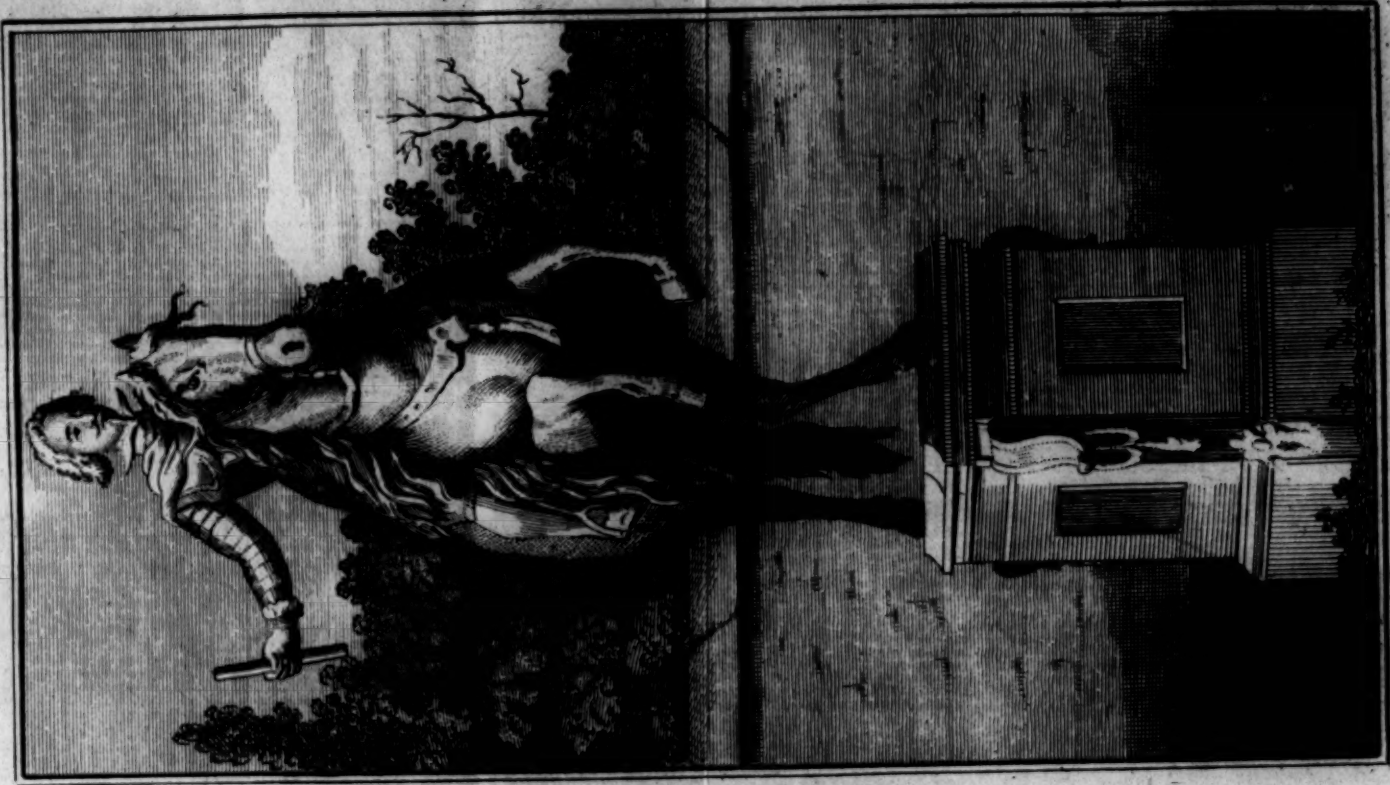
This is called the *Armeria*, or arsenal. The most remarkable things here are neither

ther cimeters set with diamonds, nor complete sets of armour, not even that of St. Ferdinand; but those of ancient American warriors. A long enumeration of all these curiosities is carefully made to the traveller, when he is admitted into the arsenal, for which he must have an order from the grand equerry, and if he be a Frenchman, even the sword worn by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, is not forgotten. Neither Philip V. nor Ferdinand VI. ever resided in the new palace of Madrid; Charles III. came not to it until some years after his arrival in Spain. These three monarchs had confined themselves to that inhabited by the Austrian family, in which Philip II. endeavoured to overturn the system of Europe, whence Philip VI. calmly saw his vast empire dismembered, where the weak Charles II. learned that the powers of Europe previously divided it as a vacant heritage, where the famous princess des Ursins played off and repelled the intrigues to which she at length became a victim, and whence Phi-

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STATUE OF CHARLES V.
at Buen - Retiro.



STATUE OF PHILIP IV.
at Buen-Retiro.

Philip V. sent armies into Italy to conquer the Parmesan and the kingdom of Naples, and in which he died.—I mean the palace known to foreigners by the name of *Buen Retiro*.

This palace is situated upon an eminence, at the extremity of the city. Never had a royal mansion less the appearance of a palace. It is a very irregular building, and exhibits nothing majestic in any one point of view. It contains, however, a long suite of apartments, which, at a small expence, might be made habitable. The gardens into which they have a view are neglected. The want of water, and the nature of the soil render them little susceptible of embellishment. There are a few statues worthy of the attention of the curious; that of Charles V. trampling upon a monster, which is supposed to be the emblem of heresy; and an equestrian statue of Philip IV. by an able sculptor of Florence. The palace of Retiro contained also many valuable pictures;

tures ; but the greatest part of them have been removed to the new palace. Some very valuable pieces however still remain ; a few by Rubens, several by Giordano, and portraits of princes and princesses of the two last families. The most remarkable piece is that called the *Cafon*, not on account of [the rich gilding with which it is overloaded, but because all the pannels of the inner balcony are painted in fresco by the fertile pencil of Luca Giordano. The ceiling is one of the noblest paintings of this artist. It represents allegorically the institution of the order of the golden-fleece.

I shall mention only two other paintings in this palace. One of Philip V. seated by the side of his wife Isabella of Farnese, and surrounded by all his family of both sexes. The monarch is forgotten ; nothing appears but the good father of a family. It is extremely affecting to see, united in the same piece, so many princes and princesses, who have had an influence on the destiny of Europe,

rope, and who, laying aside the splendour of majesty, seem to be wholly employed in enjoying the happiness of seeing themselves assembled. Charles Vantloo perhaps, erred in displaying too much magnificence in the decoration of the hall. The figures he has painted have a paleness from the too brilliant colour of the furniture.

The other picture is less remarkable from the merit of its composition than from the scene it presents. This is a faithful representation of the solemn *Auto da fé*, which was celebrated in 1680, in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid in presence of the whole court of Charles II. It is equal to an exact description of this festival, the last of the kind which has been celebrated in Spain. The balconies appear full of spectators, excited equally by devotion and curiosity. The fatal tribunal is raised in the middle of the square. The judges there wait for their victims, who pale and disfigured, covered with melancholy emblems of the torments

ments prepared for them, go to hear their sentence. Some receive the last exhortation of the monks, others tremble, stagger and faint upon the steps of the tribunal, and all shew greater marks of terror than of repentance. How many reflections must naturally rush on the mind of the spectator ; I pass them over in silence, because I have forbidden myself all declamation. But let us now turn our attention from these afflicting objects, and direct it to the temple of Thalia.

The theatre of Buen-Retiro is still in good preservation : the house is small but well contrived. The stage, which is spacious, opens at the bottom into the gardens of the palace, with which it is on a level, this was frequently favourable to theatrical magic, in extending the perspective and permitting the display of bodies of troops and sometimes a train of cavalry. All these illusions are vanished ; the theatre is deserted, and its decorations are covered with dust. In the reign
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of Ferdinand VI, it resounded with the most harmonious voices; it is now condemned to silence, which for twenty years has been but once interrupted. This was at the marriage of the princess of Asturias. Thus do courts change their appearance according to the taste of the sovereign. That of Ferdinand VI, brilliant and ostentatious, naturalized in Spain the fairy scenes of the Italian theatre under the direction of Farinelli the musician, who owed to his talents a distinguished favour, at which no person murmured, because no person suffered by it, and because that he modestly enjoyed without abusing his good fortune: Under Charles III. Euterpe and Terpsichore have lost their influence: the monarch, more simple in his manners, more uniform in his taste, and insensible to profane pleasures, has banished them from his residence, and confines himself to the protection of the silent arts, the sciences and virtue. His favour, still better placed than that of his

predecessor, can neither irritate the envious nor give offence to the weak.

The gardens of Buen-Retiro are at present a public walk. The monarch has established there a China manufactory, which hitherto strangers have not been permitted to examine. It is undoubtedly intended that experiments should be secretly made, and the manufacture brought to some perfection before it is exposed to the eyes of the curious. Its productions are to be seen nowhere except in the palace of the sovereign, or in some Italian courts, to which they have been sent as presents. Certain kinds of inlaid work not yet much known in Europe are wrought in the same edifice. I entered one day, under the protection of a foreigner of distinction, in whose favour the king had for a moment suspended the rigorous prohibition which excludes every one. I observed with what patience and address several small pieces of coloured marble were cut and joined

joined, to form pleasing and not a little complicated figures. This art, whilst it produces nearly the same effect as painting, has the advantage of having, by its everlasting colours, overcome the ravages of time, which spare not the finest productions of the pencil. The gardens of the Retiro are in other respects little ornamented, and almost abandoned. In recompence, however, Charles III, has richly embellished the environs.

This ancient palace commands a public walk, which has long been famous in Spanish comedy and romance: at first, indeed, these alone were what gave it celebrity. There was nothing remarkable in the place itself: its reputation rose from what passed in it. Measures were there concerted to deceive the vigilance of a mother or the jealousy of a husband. The courtiers, escaped from the presence of the monarch perhaps, came thither to watch a rival, prepare a plot, or disconcert an intrigue. The proximity of the palace, the obscurity

and inequality of the ground were all favourable to these purposes: the Prado was a rendezvous equally convenient to ambition and malignity, but more particularly so to love: those who appeared there had generally some sinister design or encountered some hazard: but Charles III. by levelling it, planting it with trees, admitting more light into the alleys, ornamenting it with statues and vases, and providing water to allay the dust, made it a most elegant walk which may be frequented in all seasons with safety and pleasure. It forms a part of the interior inclosure of the city, and is in length about the space of half a league. Several of the principal streets terminate here. That of Alcala, the widest in Europe, crosses it, runs by the side of the gardens of the Retiro, and terminates at the gate of the same name, which is one of the finest pieces of architecture in the capital, and built in the present reign, in 1778. The inhabitants from all quarters resort hither on foot or in carriages to meet and breathe beneath the shade of the long alleys, an
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air freshened by waters spouted from the fountains, and embalmed by exhalations from the fragrant flowers. The concourse of people is frequently prodigious. I have sometimes seen four or five hundred carriages filing off in the greatest order, amid an innumerable crowd of spectators; a spectacle which at once is a proof of great opulence and population. But a better taste in the carriages might be wished for, and a greater diversity for the eye. Instead of that motley appearance of dresses, which in other public places of Europe afford a variety without which there would be no pleasure, there is nothing seen in the Prado but women uniformly dressed, covered with great black or white veils, which conceal a part of their features; and men enveloped in their great mantles, mostly of a dark colour; so that the Prado, with all its beauty, seems to be the theatre of Castilian gravity.

The botanical garden adds not a little to the embellishment of the Prado; it

was formerly upon the road which leads from Madrid to the castle of Prado; but Charles III. a few years ago removed it to the side of the Prado with a low inclosure, by which it is ornamented without being hidden. This monarch is endeavouring to make it one of the most precious collections of the kind, by laying under contribution all the vegetable kingdom of his dominions, some part of which it has been long said, is perpetually warmed by the rays of the sun, and which in such different soils and climates must alone produce every kind of tree, shrub, and plant which grows on the bosom of the earth.

While viewing the Prado I have frequently given to this idea the greatest possible latitude; I have even extended it to the animal kingdom; I have allotted in imagination all the space which the botanical garden leaves vacant by the side of the walk to a destination certainly extraordinary in Europe, and which the monarch of Spain only could be capable of

of carrying into effect. I divided it into as many parts as this sovereign has principal colonies under his dominion; in these I settled, in supposition, a family of Peruvians, another of Mexicans, another from California, another from Louisiana, another from Paraguay, from Buenos Ayres, the coast of Caracas, from Porto Rico, from Cuba, from the Canaries and the Philippines. All to preserve their peculiar dress and manner of living, to erect a simple habitation upon the model of that they had quitted; to cultivate the plants brought from their own country; so that surrounded by these pleasing illusions they might still suppose themselves in their native soil. Here the Mexican would be seen beneath the shade of his fig-tree, shaking it and gathering the precious spoils which colour our European garments; there the inhabitant of Guatimala would cultivate his indigo; and he of Paraguay the herb which constitutes his principal riches; the native of Soconusco would attempt to naturalize his valuable cocoa-tree in

a foreign soil ; the Peruvian, accompanied by the docile animal, which partakes of his labours, feeds and clothes him ; would in concert with the Luconian endeavour to introduce the same cultivation they had been accustomed to at home. Thus the exulting inhabitant of the metropolis, without going from the capital, might pass in review, as if delineated on a map, all the colonies to which his sovereign gives laws. The transported colonist would become accustomed to an exile, which every thing would concur to render agreeable ; and his fellow citizens, separated from him by immense seas, informed by him of the benevolence and magnificence of their common monarch, would form a higher idea of his power, pride themselves upon being his subjects, and become more attached to his government. Who knows but these first essays would make them form a more favourable opinion in general of the mother country ? That in accustoming themselves to see in the Spaniards of the old world, their countrymen, instead

stead of their oppressors, they would not strive to approach them nearer? and that Spain formerly depopulated by her colonies would be repeopled by them, or at least in this community, acquire new securities for their love and fidelity.

Such a project may be considered as romantic, yet the king of Spain has entered upon one of the same kind which proves his zeal for the advancement of the arts and sciences. In the street of the Alcala is a large building in which the king has established a cabinet of natural history, which was first committed to the direction of Don Pedro Davila, who died since I left Spain; he was succeeded by Don Eugenio Izquierdo whom we have seen at Paris. The institution over which he presides, cannot but prosper under his auspices; his indefatigable zeal and knowledge insure success. The cabinet already contains one of the completest collections in Europe in metals,

tals, minerals, marble, precious stones, corals, madrepores, and marine plants.

The classes of fishes, of birds, and especially of quadrupeds, are yet very incomplete; but the measures taken by government will in a little time make them equal to the others. The viceroys, governors, intendants, and other officers of the Spanish colonies received orders some years ago to enrich the cabinet with all the productions which should offer to their researches in the three kingdoms; and the intelligence and activity of the minister who presides over the department of the Indies, gives the most flattering hopes to the lovers of these sciences that the orders will be faithfully executed. The minister last year received an ample contribution from Peru: this was half the rich collection made during an eight years residence in that country by Mr. Dombey, an able naturalist, whom the court of France, with the consent of that of Spain had
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sent thither; and whom the patrons of the sciences received upon his return with all that respect which talents, accompanied by modesty, must inspire. He left at Peru several Spanish naturalists, who were soon to follow him, and whose learned researches will greatly contribute to enrich the cabinet of natural history at Madrid.

The same edifice that contains this cabinet, and which with the custom-house, built also by Charles III. constitutes the principal ornament of the street of the Alcala, is the place of meeting for the academy of the fine arts; a circumstance which produced the inscription on the building, a motto equally happy and just.

*Carolus III. naturam et artem sub uno tecto
consociavit.*

The honour of instituting this academy is, however, due to Philip V; but it has received great encouragement from
his

his two successors. The minister of foreign affairs is president, and every three years distributes premiums to the young students who have produced the best pieces in sculpture or painting, and the best plans and designs in architecture. But though there are several members who have distinguished themselves in these three arts, it must be confessed that their works of real excellence are yet but very few in number.

I was twice present at the distribution of premiums and cannot but confess that they ought rather to be looked upon as encouragements than merited rewards. The Spaniards are too just to expect unlimited encomiums; their pride would indignantly refuse the degrading homages of adulation. They, however, maintain at Rome young students, who give the most flattering hopes; and from what was seen of the productions of Don Francisco Agustín and Don Ramos at the last exhibition, there is no doubt but these artists may soon

soon be classed with the best painters of France and Italy.

It is not only by forming artists that the academy contributes to the progress of the arts in Spain, it is also the supreme tribunal to whose decision the plans of all the sacred and profane edifices erected in the kingdom are to be submitted; an institution which in the end must establish fine taste upon the ruins of that barbarity which is but too visible in most of the edifices of former times, and of which traces still remain in some of the gates, in the ancient fountains, and in most of the churches in the capital; deformed efforts of art, then in its infancy, which took more pains to bring forth monstrous productions than would be necessary at present to produce works of transcendant merit. Modern edifices already prove the revolution that has taken place under the house of Bourbon. Besides the new palace of Madrid, we may instance in the gates of the Alcala and St. Vicente,

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the custom-house, and the post-office: except these, there are but few buildings which merit attention from the traveller.

Madrid is in general well laid out: the streets, although not in a direct line, are for the most part wide, and tolerably straight. The infrequency of rain, and the vigilance of the modern police, for which it is indebted to the count d'Aranda, make it one of the cleanest cities in Europe. But except the Prado and its avenues, the city has no elegant quarters to boast. The famous *Plaza Mayor*, which the Spaniards take so much pleasure to extol, has nothing in it which justifies their enthusiasm; it is quadrangular, but at the same time irregular, surrounded by buildings of five and six stories, sufficiently uniform, but without decoration, under which are long arcades. It is illuminated on public occasions, and then it really has an agreeable appearance. The *auto da fés* were formerly celebrated in this square,

square, with all their terrible apparatus. It is still the theatre of bull-fights which are given at the royal feasts. The hotel de ville, or town-house, is in this square, in which several academies hold their assemblies. This concurrence of circumstances has made it the most remarkable public place in the capital, and has given it a reputation which, at the time it was first built, was perhaps deserved, but which must have vanished since architecture has improved in Europe, and produced forty squares preferable to the Plaza Mayor. The Spaniards, however, should respect this reputation, and at least not dishonour their square by the hideous scene of executions, nor keep in it their principal market, and thus reduce their *place Vendome** to the level of that of the *Greve*†, and *place Maubert*‡. In

* An elegant square in Paris.

† The place of execution in Paris.

‡ A mean square in the fauxbourg St. Marcel, which is the St. Giles's of Paris.

other

other respects, this with the adjacent streets, is the quarter which gives the most favourable idea of the population of Madrid; and if we judge of it by this specimen, we shall not find the calculation which makes it amount to one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants exaggerated*.

The sacred edifices have nothing remarkable in their architecture; those of St. Pasqual, St. Isabella, and the Carmelites contain highly valuable collections of pictures which may be seen with admiration even after the paintings of the Escorial, and the new palace!

* Doctor Moncada, who wrote at the beginning of the seventeenth century, complained of the depopulation of this city, which, according to him, contained no more than four hundred thousand inhabitants. What would he say at present? Ustariz, whose work was written at the beginning of the present century, and which is quoted by the Spaniards for the exactness of its calculations, assigns to Madrid only a hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants.

The

The church of St. Isidro, which heretofore belonged to the Jesuits, has a portal which has escaped the contagion of the age in which it was built. There is another church much more modern, which on account of its mass has a venerable appearance, but which true taste may justly disavow: it is that of St. *Salesas*, or the visitation, founded by Ferdinand VI. and the queen Barbara his wife. The ashes of this royal pair repose here, under a pompous mausoleum, the inscription of which appeared to me a model of the lapidary style; the Spaniards themselves have expressed their disapprobation of the whole edifice by these words: *Barbara reyna, barbaro gusto; barbara obra*; a play upon words that can have no meaning but in the Spanish language, in which the expression *barbara* is equally applied to the name of the foundress, to the bad taste of the edifice, and to the enormous sum it cost in building. It has, however, one laudable object which should intitle it to more indulgence. A certain number

of young ladies are there educated, at the king's expence.

The convent of St. Francis has already been some years building, and there are hopes that it will become one of the finest productions of architecture in the capital. What already appears of it seems to promise a solid rather than an elegant edifice. The church, in the form of a rotunda, was finished when I left Spain: it was already decorated with many large pictures, several of which could not but encrease the reputation of the Spanish school. The present principal supporters of that school are M. Maella and M. Bayeux, whose colouring and taste in drawing resemble the stile of Mengs, and in some manner recompence the Spaniards for the loss of that great painter. Don Francisco de Goye merits also by his talents an honorable mention; he pourtrays in a pleasing stile, the manners, customs, and games of his country.

try. There are also several excellent engravers.

Don Salvador Carmona, married to the daughter of Mengs, who has in part inherited the fine pencil of her father, is deservedly to be placed at their head. Mr. Carmona is advantageously known in France by several prizes gained in the academy of painting. Were we to judge his works critically, it might be observed, that his talents too little, or at least too late, encouraged have not produced what they at first promised. Several other engravers, Messieurs Ferro, Muntaner, Fabregat, Ballester, and especially M. Selma, have by happy efforts proved that their art still makes some progress in Spain.

The academy of the Spanish language, which in the year 1780 gave an elegant edition of Don Quixote, enriched it with the embellishments of the graver. But the engravings, for the most part not above mediocrity, do not answer to

the merit of the edition, equally admirable for the quality of the ink, the beauty of the paper, the clearness of the character, and to be compared with the finest productions of the kind in any other nation. This is not the first proof the Spaniards have given of their ability in the art of printing. Every connoisseur is acquainted with, and prefers to the editions of Baskerville and Barbon, the Sallust, which the Infant Don Gabriel has translated into his own language, and some other works from the presses of Ibarra at Madrid, and from those of Benedict Montfort at Valencia, which are master-pieces of the typographical art, and will one day be sought after by posterity, as we now search for those of the Elzevirs.

If the pleasing arts be cultivated at Madrid, the most useful of all, that of beneficence, is not neglected. Charitable foundations worthy to be models to every nation, are found in that city. There are three hospitals, which in the
course

course of the year 1785, received 19437 sick persons. The principal hospital near to, but on the outside of the gate Alcala, has been lately rebuilt. It is a large edifice, which by no means disgraces the walk leading from this gate to the canal of Aranjuez, and which the Spaniards have estimated rather too highly in honouring it with the name of *Delicias*.

Besides these three hospitals there are three confraternities, the revenues of which are appropriated to the succour of the wretched, and an institution similar to the *Mont de Pieté* in Paris, the principal object of which is to advance money to the necessitous. There are also other academies besides that of the fine arts. We can say but little of those of law and physic; but every one has heard of that of the Spanish language, founded by Philip V, and which our French academy has considered, ever since its establishment, as its sister. The dictionary it has given to the public, is, according

to the ablest grammarians, the completest that ever appeared in any language. The present academicians, more learned than their predecessors, and not less laborious, are preparing a new edition of it, which by the augmentations to be made, will give an idea of the richness of their language, and of the great extent of their researches. The Abbé de Guevra, one of the most learned and zealous, has already published an extract in folio, which has abated the public impatience, and may serve for daily use.

The Spanish academy is composed but of twenty-four ordinary members; but the number of supernumeraries is not limited; the president is a grandee of Spain. The present president is the marquis de Santa Cruz, whose learning is no less an honour to the society than his rank. It contains several poets, painters, and men of letters, for whom the chair has not that soporific virtue attributed to it elsewhere; and I know
not

not one member who has been admitted from the vain motive of conferring an honour in a manner foreign to the end of its institution.

The academy of history has for its director the count de Campomanes, who, by the rank he holds in the magistracy, as well as by his great erudition and virtues, is one of the most distinguished noblemen of modern Spain. It is much to be regretted that the functions of his eminent station leave him but little leisure to dedicate to the different academies of which he is a member. That of history has happily several others, who, animated by the same zeal, may attach themselves to it with less reserve. It has, within these few years, published editions of several authors, which are a proof of this. Among others, those of Mariana and Sepulveda. It is preparing one of Solis, of which one volume has already appeared. It has undertaken, and executed in part, a task equally interesting and arduous,

that of publishing all the ancient chronicles relative to the history of Castile. Several of these works had never been printed ; all are enriched with notes and commentaries, which at once prove the sound criticism and the erudition of their authors, the Abbé de Guevara, Don Francisco de Cerda, Don Miquel Florez, and Don Eugenio de Laguno, who, in the midst of the occupations of his place of first clerk in the office of foreign affairs, still finds some moments to dedicate to literature. The academy contains one of the most valuable collections of which a literary society can boast. This is all the diplomas, charters, and other documents given since the earliest period of the monarchy, to all the cities, boroughs, communities, churches, chapels, &c. in Spain, the whole collected with the greatest care, arranged in chronological order, and consequently adapted to furnish every branch of the Spanish history with the most abundant source of authentic materials. The collection greatly facilitates

tates and encourages the learned researches of the academicians. It is in this immense repertory that they collect the elements of a work which for several years they have been preparing, I mean a geographical dictionary of Spain, which, by its correctness will be a worthy companion to the new dictionary of the language. One of the most learned among them, Don Juan Iriarte, who died in 1776, leaving behind him three nephews of distinguished abilities, published a first volume of the Greek manuscripts, in the library of Madrid; a continuation is expected from the librarians who are appointed to compleat the work. To a member of the same academy, Father Florez, Spain is also already indebted for several volumes of the ecclesiastical history of the nation, which in his hands was, in truth, only an irregular compilation of documents, become very scarce, or entirely unknown, but it has acquired a more pleasing form by the care of his continuator,

tinuator, Father Risco, an Augustin monk.

Several other writers, well acquainted with what relates to their country, are employed in giving a clear history of it, and instructing their fellow citizens in matters of policy, and the science of government. They have naturalized in their language such French and English works as the Spanish orthodoxy would permit; those, for instance, which treat of trades and arts. They are at present translating two of the works of Linnaeus, and the natural history of M. de Buffon. When I was in Spain the French *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique*, was undertaken to be translated by subscription; and those who believe that in that kingdom every person is subjected to the yoke of bigotry and fanaticism were not a little surprized to see the name of the grand inquisitor at the head of the list of subscribers; for it is to be remembered there was a very numerous list of subscribers for the new *encyclopédie*, in numbers. But the
writer

writer of the article Spain, heated with national prejudices, without having any knowledge of the country otherwise than by vain declamations, or unfaithful relations, wantonly vilified a whole nation, which from its weight in the balance of Europe, its virtues, and intimate connexion with our own, he ought to have respected.

The Spanish government highly resented so unmerited an insult, and the French court determined to redress its complaints with all the warmth of friendship and the rigour of justice. The author, censor, and printer were severely reprimanded; and the publication of the new encyclopédie was suspended by order of the court. The Spanish minister, however, though offended, was not implacable, he resented the affront, but would not exclude knowledge, and soon afterward revoked the suspension, at the same time taking measures to erase the errors and invectives from a work of which he knew the merit. Before
the

the numbers are distributed to the subscribers, they are examined by the council of Castile. At the time the court of Spain took offence at the article above-mentioned, a Spanish ecclesiastic at Paris undertook the apology of his country against the indiscreet author; but even his countrymen think that, lead astray by his zeal, he carried the matter to the other extreme. He is more prodigal of eulogiums than his adversary had been of contempt and reproaches. One had refused every merit; and the other bestowed every possible excellence. According to the latter, the Spaniards excel in every art and science. Thus passion, by exaggerating, sometimes injures the cause it means to defend. In this discussion, as in all others, reason seeks and finds the truth only in the just medium.

There are undoubtedly in Spain more learned men who modestly cultivate the sciences; more men of erudition who are thoroughly acquainted with the

the history and jurisprudence of their country; more distinguished men of letters and a greater number of poets, who have energy and a fertile and brilliant imagination than is generally imagined. But according to the Spaniards themselves, the present state of letters and the sciences is far from what it was in the times of Mariana, Solis, Mendoza, Ambroise, Morales, Herrera, Saavedra, Sepulveda, Cervantes, Quevedo, Garcilaso, Calderon, Lopes de Vega, &c. &c.

The Spanish universities can no longer boast the reputation they formerly possessed; industry and population are much inferior to what they were under Ferdinand the Catholic, and his two successors. But the present government is zealously and successfully employed in endeavouring to revive those happier times. Besides the academies of which I have spoken, there is one at Madrid for the laws of Spain, another for the canon law, and a third for medicine

dicine. A taste for the arts and sciences has extended even to the provinces.

At Seville is an academy of Belles-lettres, and a medical society; at Saragossa and Valencia an academy of arts; at Valladolid, one of geography; at Granada, one of mathematics and drawing; and at Barcelona, an academy of Belles-lettres.

There were for a long time in Spain six great colleges (*collegios mayores*) into which none were admitted but young men of family, and from among whom persons qualified for every office of government were almost exclusively taken. The privileges they enjoyed became a source of abuse. They supported idleness and arrogance in the colleges, and discouraged other seminaries of education. Government struck at the root of the evil. In 1777 the colleges received a new form from which the most happy effects are expected.

Education

Education is nevertheless still imperfect in Spain, and the expulsion of the Jesuits has made it perhaps yet more so. At that period the inconvenience of confiding youth to the care of religious orders was, perhaps, too much magnified. That of the Piaristes, known in Spain by the name of *Escolapios*, is the only one which is still in the possession of some schools. Every where else, the place of the Jesuits has been supplied by professors, who may either be ecclesiastics or lay persons, but who form no collective body nor reside under the same roof. The Jesuits, besides the property of the society, had foundations for different professorships. These were the only funds appropriated to the support of the new professors. They were sufficient for monks living in a community, but are very inadequate in the present state of things. Professorships so little lucrative cannot be sought after by persons eminent for learning and talents. The education of youth suffers therefore by the change and this is a circumstance
of

of sufficient importance to deserve the attention of government.

Much, however, has already been done for military education. The king has established a school for artillery at Segovia, a riding school at Ocanna, one of engineers at Carthagena, and another for tactics at Avila, whence it has lately been removed to Port Santa Maria.

Manufactures at the beginning of the present century were greatly on the decline. The three sovereigns of the house of Bourbon have made efforts to revive them. There are manufactures of common cloths at Escaray in Biscay, at Bocairente, at Ontemente, and at Alcoy in the kingdom of Valencia, and at Grazalema in Andalusia; and we have already seen the encouragement given by the present sovereign to the manufacture of fine cloths at Guadalaxara and Segovia. In the course of this work we shall have occasion to speak of several others, and it will be seen that those of silk in particular

lar have engaged the attention of government. There is one for hats at Madrid, as also at Badajoz and Seville, and foreign manufactures already feel the competition : for there is this fatality in the present constitution of Europe, that no nation can prosper in any branch of commerce without being prejudicial to its neighbours. But in this struggle of jarring interests murmurs are improper and complaints useless. Nothing is just or efficacious but the efforts of industry, activity, and oeconomy.

Spain also owes to the sovereigns of the house of Bourbon the few roads and canals she possesses. The government is well convinced how much the want of these is felt, and is taking every means to supply the deficiency. There are already fine roads in Biscay and Navarre ; those which terminate in the capital announce the residence of a great monarch. Fine ones have been begun between Aranjuez and Valencia ; in Galicia, from the Corogne to Pontevedra ; to the

north of Castile, from Reynosa to the sea, and in some other parts of the peninsula. But the able minister who presides over this department causes them to be carried on with that prudent slowness which alone insures the success of expensive undertakings. His plans also have been somewhat deranged by the war, which even when it is successful causes an exchange of real and solid advantages for a little glory. This minister is more particularly attentive to improve and complete the principal road which entirely crosses Spain from Bayonne to Cadiz, passing by Madrid. The advantage unknown until within these two years, of travelling in a post-chaise, the hundred leagues which separate the two last cities, is to be ascribed to him.

We have seen what he has already done for the canal of Arragon. That of Castile, long since begun, will soon engage his attention. The canal projected in Murcia has been found impracticable;

ticable ; the subscribers, instead of the profits which their avidity grasped at, must content themselves with the interest the king pays them, and have in the unimpeachable probity of the monarch a sufficient security for their money. Last year the minister adopted a project much more brilliant and useful than that he was obliged to abandon ; that of a canal, which beginning at the foot of the mountains of Guadarrama near the Escorial, proceeds to join the Tagus, afterwards the Guadiana, and terminates at the Guadalquivir above Anduxar, and which consequently will give new life and activity to the center of Spain, the least populous and most barren part of the kingdom. A Frenchman of abilities named le Maur, gave in the plan, and was preparing to carry it into execution, but died soon afterwards. The impulse, however, was given, the money subscribed, and the estimate made. The undertaking is continued by the sons of le Maur, who in-

herit from their father all his plans and a portion of his talents.

But that which more particularly contributes to the prosperity of Spain is the modern institution of patriotic societies, known by the name of *friends to the country*. The example was given in Biscay; as was natural to expect in a province where industry and patriotism reign in every mind. It was soon followed by the other provinces, and by the capital, in which a patriotic society was established in 1775. At the end of the last year there were already forty-four. The name of these institutions indicates their aim. The members of which they are composed, encourage the progress of the arts and the agriculture and industry of their provinces. They propose questions relative to these objects, and give premiums to those who discuss them best. They awaken the industry of their fellow citizens, animate their zeal, solicit their information, give encourage-

encouragement to artificans, assistance and advice to the peasants, and cause the patriotic ardour, with which they are animated, to circulate through every class of citizens. Never did a laudable institution make more rapid progress or produce more general effect. Those who never see the advancement of good but with an envious eye, or whose methodical supineness is disgusted with novelty, and those whose self-love is mortified by success to which they do not contribute, have endeavoured to throw ridicule upon these societies; they have pretended that the members talked much but performed little; that they exaggerated their importance, and discussed trifles with pompous gravity. Undoubtedly they have not yet done every thing which may be done; their slender funds circumscribe their progress; but the great point was to rouse their country from its stupor, and to offer a stimulus to the talents of artists, and the labour of husbandmen; to excite their emulation by the prospect of fame, and their interest

by the hope of gain. This is what the societies have already effected. The leisure and savings of peace enable government to furnish the means of increasing their beneficence. At the representation made by the principals of these societies, their funds, which consist in a great measure of voluntary contributions, were increased to a stock which may be compared to that of the *Economats* in France *. The sovereign whose piety is rational, and to whom the communication of beneficial projects is all that is necessary to prevail on him to adopt them, has thought proper to dedicate to the encouragement of these societies a part of the revenues of the church, the vacant benefices of which he enjoys for a certain time. In a less enlightened age such an employment of this property would have been called a profanation. The Spanish government, on the contrary, think that making it contribute

* In one sense the funds arising from the revenues of vacant benefices.

to the prosperity of the state is to sanctify its use. The object of pious foundations was much less to bestow on ecclesiastics an opulence hurtful to the true interests of religion, than to provide for the wants of the poor, to banish poverty, and employ that idleness which necessarily increases indigence. These were the intentions of the founders, and this is the reasoning of a country which prejudice supposes to be still enslaved by the superstitious bigotry of the fourteenth century.

The patriotic societies have received other encouragements from government. Enlightened by them it has revived laws which had fallen into disuse. It has excluded such foreign merchandize as might be prejudicial to the national manufactures, and has procured to these such workmen as may improve and perfect them. These measures have already been prejudicial, and will become still more so, to other manufacturing and commercial nations; they may excite in

them murmurs and alarm, they will undoubtedly reanimate their activity and vigilance, but cannot but be applauded by real patriots.

The patriotic society of Madrid is distinguished from the others only by the more immediate protection of government, and by its situation, which gives it a greater facility of acquiring information and assistance. It has, perhaps, fewer objects, on which to exercise its zeal, because that the productions of new Castile, in the center of which it is placed, are less various than those of the other provinces, and because that its industry is more confined. But it is attentive to the improvement of agriculture in the environs of Madrid, and to furnish the children of both sexes and the poor of that capital with employment. A perfect equality is the most sacred law of all these societies; rank is unknown in them; the archbishop of Toledo, and the duke of Medina Celi may there be placed by the
side

side of an artisan, and information is collected from whatever source it may come.

As Madrid is the chief center of arts and sciences, so is it that of government. Although the monarch resides there but a few weeks in the year, and his ministers are always near his person, this city is the seat of government, and of the supreme tribunals. We shall take a view of them all; and this will naturally lead us to speak of the laws, religion, finances, and military force of Spain.

The council of Castile holds the first rank among the councils and tribunals of the kingdom; there is nothing in France which can be compared to it: it is at once a council of administration which has the inspection of all the interior operations of government, and a sovereign tribunal that has an exclusive cognizance of certain causes, and in certain

certain cases receives appeals from the other tribunals.

The council of Castile is composed of five chambers. The first, the *sala de Gobierno*, which is confined to the affairs of administration; it also receives references accompanied with necessary forms, brought to the council in extraordinary cases, but it is only to send them to the second *sala de Gobierno*, or to the *sala de Justicia* according to circumstances.

The second *sala de Gobierno* judges some of the causes brought before the council of Castile by extraordinary reference, but its chief occupation is in matters relative to the manufactures, bridges, banks, and causeways of the kingdom.

The chamber of *Mil y quinientos* or of one thousand five hundred, thus called because those who appeal to it from the
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sentences and judgments of the sovereign tribunals are obliged to deposit fifteen hundred ducats, which they forfeit in case of losing the appeal.

The *sala de Justicia* has an exclusive cognizance of certain causes, the particulars of which would be uninteresting, and perhaps unintelligible, to most of our readers; and for the judgment of capital causes of a certain description this chamber is united to the others.

The *sala de Provincia* judges the appeals in all important cases, and receives those from the judgments of the two lieutenants civil of Madrid (*Tenientes de Villa*) and from those of the *Alcaldes de Corte* in civil affairs.

These form a sixth chamber. The city of Madrid is divided into a certain number of quarters, and the police of each is superintended by an *Alcalde de Corte*: who judges in the first instance, in concurrence with the lieutenants civil,

civil, all the causes brought by the citizens of his quarter. Their decisions may be appealed from to the whole chamber assembled, which alone can finally pronounce upon criminal causes within its jurisdiction. It is in extraordinary cases only that they are carried before the council of Castile.

The chamber of the *Alcaldes de Casa y Corte* was formerly the tribunal which always accompanied the court of Spain. Since this is understood to be fixed at Madrid, the tribunal has been fixed there also; and as it formerly had a provincial jurisdiction near the residence of the sovereign, it has still preserved such a jurisdiction to a certain distance from the capital. The council of Castile is the only one acknowledged by the grantees of Spain, and all its members have the right of *committimus*, like those of the French parliaments.

Spain is divided into two chanceries, those of Granada and Valladolid, which
have

have an exclusive cognizance of certain causes. Their decisions are not appealed from to the council of Castile, except in two cases, when the appellants address themselves to the chamber of *Mil y quinientos*, or upon a denial of justice, called *Recurfos de Fuerza*. Each chancery has a particular chamber, called *Sala de Hijosdalgo*, or chamber of nobles. Its office is to authenticate nobility, and to hear causes relative thereto. It has also an exclusive cognizance of criminal causes of the *Hidalgos*.

Besides these there are eight audiences, without reckoning the particular tribunal of Navarre, which has the title of *Royal Council*, as some of the provinces of France have, instead of a parliament, a sovereign council. The four audiences of the crown of Arragon are those of Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, and Majorca; and of the crown of Castile those of Seville, Corogne, Oviedo, and the Canaries.

Each

Each chancery and each audience has a criminal court, *sala de Crimen*, which definitively pronounces criminal sentences, and causes them to be executed.

Except a few restrictions, these tribunals are equally sovereign. The principal difference between the chanceries and the audiences is, that the first act in the king's name like the council of Castile. There are also some cases in which appeals lie from the audiences of Corogne and Oviedo to the chancery of Valladolid, and from the audience of Seville to the chancery of Granada. But from the four audiences of the crown of Arragon the appeal (in certain cases) is immediately made to the council of Castile, where the causes in question must be determined according to the laws of Arragon.

The limits of these different jurisdictions are not clearly enough defined to prevent frequent contests between the courts. Whilst the council of Castile

tile loses no opportunity of extending its jurisdictions, the chanceries and audiences incessantly struggle against it to support their supreme authority. The council of Navarre alone had preserved its authority unimpaired, until lately, when some of the causes brought before it were carried by appeal to the council of Castile. Unless in cases of appeal, which are rare exceptions to the general rule, there is no resource against the decisions of all the sovereign tribunals, but revision, which in Spain is called *Supplica*. Appeals, in that case, are made to the tribunal itself, praying it to begin the process anew.

The heads of the chanceries are called *Presidents*, and those of the audiences *Regents*.

The head of the council of Castile has the title of president or governor: these two dignities differ but little, except in honorary distinctions. The president of the council of Castile must always
be

be a grandee of Spain. When he appears in public, he has particular privileges. The count d'Aranda was the last person who filled this place, and as he held that of captain-general of all Castile, and possessed firmness and talents, he exercised it with an authority which yielded only to that of the sovereign.

Various reasons, of which it is not yet time to inform the public, induced him to resign this place to become ambassador in France, where he was preceded by his great reputation, and where he has enjoyed since the year 1773, that respect to which on so many accounts he is entitled.

The office of president of the council of Castile had been revived, after a long interruption, in the person of the count, in one of those critical moments when men of genius become necessary. He discharged the duties of it during seven years, with all the energy and wisdom
by

by which he is characterised. Madrid will for a long time exhibit proofs of what he effected for its embellishment, security, and convenience, even during his short administration. It is to his care and prudence that Spain owes the expulsion of the Jesuits, prepared with the greatest secrecy, and executed without tumult. He also procured an account of the present state of population in that kingdom, which, according to the documents laid before him, amounts to about eleven millions of inhabitants*.

The dissipated and frequently licentious lives of the monks were reformed, and their manners rendered more suitable to their profession. The abuses of the asylum which the greatest criminals

* No means were neglected to make this calculation as exact as possible. However, as the public, misinformed, supposed it to be undertaken with views to taxation, several citizens gave in false reports of the number of persons each house contained. It is therefore probable, that the real population of Spain is rather above than below what it is estimated at in the last accounts.

found in the churches were suppressed. The sovereign authority was placed above the reach of the pretensions of the holy see; bounds were set to the exterior practices of religion, more favourable to idleness than devotion; and in some respects, as we shall hereafter find, the power of fanaticism was subjected to controul. The functions of the place of president of the council of Castile were never so actively discharged as during his administration. Since his resignation that title has been conferred on no one; he was succeeded by a sensible and moderate ecclesiastic, M. de Figueroa, who had only the title of governor of the council of Castile, and who died whilst I was in Spain. At present the count de Campomanes, as oldest member of the council, discharges the functions of governor, without having the title, and by his long services, knowledge, and integrity, is in every respect worthy to be at the head of the magistracy of his country.

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The oldest members of this council, form what is called in Spain the *Camara*, which in some respects may be compared to the great chamber of the parliament of Paris. It is properly the privy council of the monarch, and at the same time a sovereign tribunal for certain causes, such as all which have relation to the right of patronage, the successions of persons of the royal family, and all contests relative to the rights of cities (*Ciudades*) which differ from *Villas*, the former having a particular jurisdiction, and being represented in the Cortes of the kingdom †.

The *Camara* is also the council which issues all acts or patents of royal favour. All places in the magistracy, and all consistorial benefices are conferred by its means. It recommends to his majesty, through the medium of his mi-

† Madrid is only a *Villa*, yet is represented in the Cortes like the *Ciudades*. But this is the only exception.

nister of favour and justice, three persons to fill them, and the king chuses one of the three.

No place in the magistracy is venal in Spain. This, like all human institutions, has its advantage and inconvenience. If it leaves a greater opening to caprice, favour and intrigue, it prevents the tribunals from being dishonoured by incapacity and ignorance, and diminishes the temptation to sell that justice of which the right of dispensing is bought. It is true that the integrity of magistrates frequently without fortune must appear suspicious, and that their moderate fees seem but a weak rampart against corruption. However, notwithstanding the declamations of dissatisfied clients, iniquitous and partial judges are not more common in Spain than in other countries, whether it be that they are better watched, or that the generosity natural to the Spanish nation secures them from all temptation.

There

There is a kind of gradation in the Spanish magistracy of which the degrees are easily traced. All the members of the *Camara* are ancient counsellors of Castile; these seldom obtain their places without having been presidents of a chancery or an audience, or at least ancient counsellors of one of these tribunals, or *Alcade de Corte*. In the same manner it is from among the advocates *Corregidores*, or *Alcaldes Mayores*, that the latter are chosen. It is here necessary to give some account of these magistrates, of whose offices foreigners in general have but a very confused idea.

First there are two classes of simple *Alcaldes**, who are established in the cities, boroughs and villages. The *Alcalde ordinario* judges in the first instance,

* These different species of *Alcaldes* are usually confounded by foreigners. Not to distinguish an *Alcalde Pedaneo* from an *Alcalde de Corte* is the same as supposing a sheriff's officer and a magistrate upon the bench to be equal in rank and authority.

when there is no Corregidor, but in places where there is one, has cognizance of civil causes in concurrence with him, whilst the latter acts alone in matters of police and administration. The *Alcalde pedaneo*, who is commonly taken from among the common people, has no functions but those of arresting delinquents, and executing the orders of the Corregidor, or the Alcalde Mayor.

The simple *Alcaldes* are differently appointed, according to the privileges of the cities, boroughs and villages in which they reside. In some places chance decides, in others they are named by the council of Castile, the tribunal of the province, or the lord of the manor, who chuses one from three persons proposed to him. They are changed every year.

The *Alcaldes Mayores*, or *Corregidores*, which differ in title only, are all named by the king upon the presentation of the Camara. This inferior degree of
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magistracy was formerly under very improper regulations, which government has lately reformed. The place of Corregidor was bestowed on persons of small fortune, who frequently expended their whole property in soliciting the promotion. After having succeeded, they held their places three years, when their office expired, and they were again obliged to have recourse to new solicitations. How could it be hoped, that men scarcely escaped from want, and upon the brink of relapsing into their former indigence, would not be violently tempted to insure to themselves resources at the expence of those over whom they possessed a transient authority? It was necessary to preserve the subjects of the king from their rapacity, and these magistrates themselves from temptation. Men virtuous from a love of virtue, and who firmly refuse to commit evil, even when they can perpetrate it with advantage and impunity, are rare in every country; and the Corregidors but too frequently confirmed

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this melancholy truth. The count of Florida Blanca, when minister of favour and justice, had the almost unexampled courage to adopt the measures projected by his predecessor and the count de Comomanes; measures which might excite the emulation of the Corregidores, and enable and encourage them to be honest. He procured that for the future they should continue in office six years instead of three; that there should be three classes of *Corregimientos*; that they should pass from one class to another, after having well discharged the duties of their first place; that their emoluments should be increased at every removal; and that having thus gone through the three classes to the satisfaction of his majesty, they should have what in Spain is called the honours of *Togado*, that is, the title and prerogatives annexed to the place of counsellor of the superior tribunals, whether their acknowledged merit was rewarded by one of these places, or that they continued to occupy the *Corregimientos* of the
first

first class. When I was at Madrid, government was waiting the termination of the commission of the triennial Corregidores to begin this regulation, truly advantageous to the people, who at times, even in monarchies, are considered as of some importance.

Besides the three classes of Corregidores, there is one of another kind; those of Madrid and Seville, two cities in which the magistracy is peculiar and distinct. The Corregidores are for life, and must not be taken from the profession of the law; they are no more than chiefs of the police who preside at city meetings, bull-fights, and the public acts of the city. The lieutenants civil, *Tenientes de Villa*, have a jurisdiction independant of their authority, and supply them in their presidencies. Besides these, Madrid and Seville have *Regidores*, a kind of inspectors, who maintain the police in concurrence with the Corregidor. This is the municipal constitution of Madrid. The *Alcaldes de Corte* make

make no part of it, and are, as we have observed, dependant upon the court; this, however, prevents not their jurisdiction from extending to the interior of the capital, which is divided into a certain number of quarters, distributed to the different *Alcaldes de Corte*; each of whom has under him an *Alcalde de Barrio* *, a kind of local magistrate, who watches over the preservation of public order, within the extent of his jurisdiction.

Lastly, there is a magistrate with the title of Superintendent, who is particularly charged with the police and the preservation of public order, in concurrence with the *Alcaldes de Corte*, the *Regidores*, the *Corregidor*, and the *Tenientes de Villa*. From this constitution, which is certainly somewhat complicated, results frequent clashings of jurisdiction among the magistrates; but on the other hand, there are few cities in Eu-

* There are therefore five kinds of *Alcaldes*, *Alcalde Pedaneo*, *Alcalde Ordinario*, *Alcalde de Barrio*, *Alcalde Mayor*, and *Alcalde de Corte*.

rope in which the police is better regulated than at Madrid, where there is more safety, or where fewer crimes are committed which escape the vigilance of justice.

It now remains to consider, by what code of laws justice is administered in Madrid, as well as in the rest of the kingdom.

It may be said, strictly speaking, that the Roman or civil law has there no force. This, by some old ordinances of the kings of Castile, is forbidden, under severe penalties, to be so much as quoted. These laws, however, for so long a time the object of a blind admiration, and against which it is now become the custom to declaim with virulence, are frequently consulted in practice. The Spaniards seem to observe a just medium between the two extremes. They do not adopt the civil law implicitly; they look not upon all its decisions as infallible; but their lawyers de-
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rive from it knowledge and authorities, because they are convinced, that in the midst of a number of laws contradictory to each other, sometimes absurd, and frequently foreign to our manners and political constitution, many are to be found which cannot be denied to be dictated by reason and applicable to every legislation. The forms of process in Spain, are conformable to the Roman law, except some difference in terms and the use of documents. They are reported, not as in France by members of the tribunal, but by particular magistrates, called *Relatores*, whose places are very lucrative, and consequently much sought after.

The only authentic laws, according to which justice is administered, are registered in the codes published by the ancient kings; such are the *Ley de las siete Partidas*, the *Ordenamiento-Real*, the *Fuero-Juzgo*, and *Fuero-Real*. The principal code, that which is in constant use, is called *Recopilacion*. It is a collection of
various

various and distinct edicts of the monarchs of Spain from the earliest ages to the present reign. A new edition is given from time to time in which all the laws published since the last are inserted; for it is not until after they are thus registered that certain edicts acquire the force of law. Such are those which are issued from the council of Castile under the title of *Autos-Accordatos*, and which may sometimes, from intervening circumstances, be revoked by the council itself.

It has been pretended in certain foreign prints, that the present monarch intended to give to Spain a new criminal code, and that the council of Castile had been ordered to digest it. The assertion was at least exaggerated. The council, which too well knows how much men are led by words, would have feared to have dishonoured the memory of Charles III. by placing his name at the head of a criminal code. The title alone awakens an idea of severity and even of cruelty, which

which would have formed too great a contrast to the clemency and goodness which are the characteristic virtues of the reigning sovereign. The following facts are what gave rise to the error: The council of Castile, by the agency of the count de Campomanes, who was then one of its *fiscales*, had proposed the revision and reform of the old criminal laws, some of which were absurd, disgusting or impossible to be enforced; such were those which condemned certain criminals to be pierced with arrows; false witnesses to have their teeth pulled out, &c. The proposition being approved by the king, the council appointed some members of the different tribunals to make a revision of the penal laws, and to substitute others more conformable to modern manners. From the report of this committee, of which the count de Campomanes was president, the chamber of the *Alcaldes de Corte* was directed to draw up a plan which should serve as a basis to the projected reform. Whatever may be the ultimate benefit derived

derived from this measure, it has already produced a tract on the penal laws, the work of a young lawyer named Lardizabal, which appeared in 1784, and may be read with pleasure and advantage, even after the celebrated essays of the marquis of Beccaria.

This is the proper place to speak of the torture, that barbarous institution against which modern philosophy has so forcibly exclaimed. It is not yet formally abolished in Spain, and still finds some defenders. A few years ago an ecclesiastic, named Castro, undertook a formal apology for it; but his work, which inspired almost general indignation, was completely refuted by a gentleman of the profession of the law, who in fact only expressed the moderate sentiments of the first tribunal of the kingdom, and of the reasonable part of the nation. His system has infinitely more partisans than that of his antagonist.

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The canon law is the received code in Spain in all ecclesiastical affairs. It must not however be imagined that the court of Madrid pays implicit obedience to the orders of the holy see. There is no catholic kingdom in which more successful efforts have been made to lighten this yoke.

The religion of Rome and its ministers are without doubt still held in the greatest veneration, and the priests and monks, under the pretext of directing consciences, sometimes take part in temporal concerns, and abuse the confidence placed in them by excessive credulity. But these abuses, even under the reign of pious monarchs, were in many respects suppressed; though, during a great part of the present century, they infected the very avenues to the throne.

The dangerous influence which father D'Aubenton, and his successors of the same order enjoyed at the court of Philip

Philip V. is remembered with indignation; as likewise that of father Rabago, the last Jesuit who sat in the confessional chair of the Spanish monarchs, with Ferdinand VI. The confessor of the present king is a Franciscan. But although this monk is very frequently admitted to the presence of his august penitent, he does not extend his jurisdiction beyond the limits of the duties of real religion; and notwithstanding what has been said in Europe, especially upon the subject of the late war, has few connections at court, and concerns himself very little with the affairs of government and political intrigue. The monarch, though he continually treats him with that deference which he thinks due from him to the director of his conscience, has more than once repressed the fervency of his zeal. It is true his majesty generally consults him concerning filling the vacant bishopricks and other ecclesiastical dignities, which are at the disposal of the king, and in this point of view his con-

fessor may be considered as possessing the nomination to benefices, although this properly belongs to the Camara and to the minister of favour and justice. But even in this respect, his influence has lately been circumscribed, and the appointment to vacant sees vested, in exclusion of him, in the count de Florida Blanca, as the present minister of favour and justice.

This incontestible right of the kings of Spain to nominate to the great benefices of their dominions has been allowed by the popes only since the year 1753, the date of the compact between the Spanish court and the holy see.

Until then the collation to benefices had been the object of frequent contests between the two courts. The kings of Spain claimed it by virtue of their right of patronage, as having founded and endowed all the churches in their dominions. That moderate pontiff, Benedict XIV. who perceived that the real means

means of preserving the remaining rights of the holy see in an age when the eyes of every European sovereign were more opened to discover abuses, was to compound for some of them, proposed, that in the first place the subject should be discussed by the cardinals Aquaviva and Belluga; but their interposition having produced a correspondence in which both parties were only inflamed against each other without making much progress towards a conclusion, it was agreed to abandon the discussion and negotiate in an amicable manner. For this purpose Spain deputed the abbé de Figueroa a man of a mild and conciliating character and who has since been at the head of the council of Castile. The result was the compact which has finally settled this dispute between the crown of Spain and the court of Rome.

The holy see did not refuse the kings of Spain the right of nomination to all consistorial benefices, which has been granted to them by different bulls. The

compact confirms them in the possession of this right, regulating however that titularies should be obliged to provide themselves with bulls.

The principal contest turned upon regular and simple benefices. The kings of Spain demanded to nominate to all; the popes claimed a right to confer those at least which became vacant in the apostolical months.

The compact enumerated fifty-two benefices which should be at the nomination of the holy see, with obligation to confer them upon none but Spaniards; and it was also stipulated that the pope should not delegate this power of collation; that the benefices should be exempt from pensions, and that the titularies should pay no *cedulas bancarias*.

These were contracts made with the apostolical chamber, by virtue of which the candidate to whom the benefice was promised engaged himself to pay a certain

tain sum. This sum he frequently did not possess; in which case the apostolical chamber advanced it to him at an enormous interest, and kept agents in Spain who took care to have these engagements fulfilled. These ruinous abuses sent to Rome one year with another, a fifth of the revenue of all the benefices. One of the inconveniences, which were the consequence, was the emigration of the candidates who went to intrigue at Rome and there dishonour their country.

This was not the only impropriety abolished by the compact. Previous to it the pope had always disposed of the *spolios y vacantes*, that is of the spoils of deceased prelates and the revenues of vacant benefices. The administration of these funds was confided to an office composed of Italians, so expert in this business that a fourth of the produce of the benefices of Spain disappeared under their rapacious management. By the

compact the holy see renounced these revenues under the single condition that the administration of the *spolios y vacantes*, should be granted to none but an ecclesiastic. This trifling restriction does not prevent the kings of Spain from disposing of them according to their pleasure. The minister they name employs a part of them in making advances to the new prelates who want money for their establishment. It has been remarked, to the praise of the dignified Spanish clergy, that the repayment of these advances has never been neglected; and it must also be allowed, that though there are still some fanatics among the Spanish prelates, they are highly worthy commendation for their piety, charity, and unimpeachable moral conduct.

Though it is stipulated by the compact that the produce of the *spolios y vacantes*, shall be wholly consecrated to pious uses, the king, as we have observed, makes no scruple of employing a part
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of them in the encouragement of industry, and even in rewards for military services. But this source of beneficence is much less considerable than it might be. The chapters commonly chosen to liquidate the property of deceased prelates, and to administer the revenues of great vacant benefices, sometimes reduce them both to one-fourth of their real value.

As the compact deprived the holy see of the *spolios y vacantes*, and of some other revenues, and as that see seldom makes voluntary sacrifices, it was necessary that a sort of equivalent should be found. On account of the pensions, payable from the benefices of Spain, and the produce of the *cedulas bancarias*, the court of Madrid engaged to pay it on one part, six hundred thousand Roman crowns, at an interest of three per cent. and on the other a sum of three hundred and ten thousand crowns upon the same condition, as an

indemnification for the produce of the sale of bulls, and that of the annates. Lastly, the king of Spain, by the same compact, engages that for the subsistence of the nuncio at his court, an annual sum of fifty thousand crowns shall be paid from the revenue of the bull of the crusade*, which on this occasion was rendered perpetual.

It is manifest that the compact of 1753 has greatly diminished the contributions which Spain pays to the holy see. The produce, however of marriage dispensations still remains in the possession of the latter, and may be estimated at fifteen hundred thousand livres (62500l.) a year.

Since that period, the court of Madrid has continued warmly to defend the rights of sovereign authority against the

* We shall speak of this when we come to treat of the taxes.

pretensions of the holy see. It is not forgotten in what manner it received the admonition of Clement XIII. to the infant of Parma. The council of Castile collected all the copies and commanded the same to be done by all the letters, bulls and briefs which should be found contrary to the royal rights or to the measures taken by government, renewing the ancient law which denounced pain of death and confiscation against any notary or other persons who should dare to notify them.

On this occasion the council of Castile, of which the count d'Aranda was then president, collected every public act by which the kings of Spain, from the time of Charles V. had endeavoured to prevent the admission of the bull *in Cæna Domini*, so far as it was prejudicial to the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the temporal tribunals, and commanded all archbishops and bishops of the kingdom to pre-

prevent its publication and enforcement in their several dioceses.

To these proofs of the vigilance of the catholic kings to maintain the independance of royal authority, I shall add that Spain, like France, has the resource of its appeals from abuses. In the course of the last year a Spanish work appeared, written professedly on this subject, and intituled, *Maximas sobre recursos de fuerza y proteccion*. The clergy, and especially the holy office, the ancient and now almost forgotten constitutions of which the author had printed at the end of his work, endeavoured to prevent its publication; but the council of Castile and the minister openly protected the author, and enabled him to triumph over every opposition.

It was at the same period also that the powers and privileges of the nuncio in Spain were confined within narrow limits. In the reign of Charles V. they had

had already received some diminution. The council of 1528 began by establishing that the auditor of the nunciature should be a Spaniard.

In 1564 the council of Castile restrained the power of the nuncio, and sent him back his credentials that he might get them altered conformable to the restriction.

In 1640, the office of nuncio experienced new vicissitudes. A regulation appeared which established its form and proceedings, and to which was added, a list of all the favours which might be conferred by his authority.

The nuncios however, frequently abused the pious veneration of the Spaniards to extend their power. They sometimes arrived with bulls which authorised them to be the collectors of the produce of the *spolios y vacantes*, and to oppose the intervention of the secular

lar tribunals in the *recursos por fuerza* or appeals as from abuses. In 1641, a nuncio appeared in Spain furnished with such a bull; but the council of Castile, which, like the parliament of Paris, has ever zealously supported royal authority, examined and annulled the bull.

Under the present reigning family, the nuncios have made other attempts in which they have failed. Sometimes, when absent, they have named by their own authority sub-delegates to supply their places. In 1739, the nuncio being dangerously ill, appointed the inquisitor general to exercise his functions; Philip V. was offended at the nomination, annulled it, and obliged the sovereign pontiff to create the bishop of Avila nuncio *per interim*.

Lastly, in 1771, the court of Madrid obtained from pope Clement XIV. a brief which gave a new form to the nunciature, and substituted to the auditor

tor of the nuncio who is the only judge of this tribunal a rota modelled by that of Rome, and composed of six ecclesiastics named by the sovereign pontiff, but upon the presentation of the king of Spain; which was exclusively insuring these places to the subjects of the monarchy. This brief stated also, that the audiences of the nuncio should always be in Spain, but that for the future they should have no jurisdiction.

It must besides be observed that Spain has long since adopted, with respect to the independance of the sovereign power, maxims very similar to the four famous articles which were sanctioned by the assembly of the clergy of France in 1682, and which every subject the moment a public employment is conferred upon him is obliged to swear he will observe and maintain.

There still exists in Spain, however, a very great abuse arising from religion

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ill understood ; this is the extreme riches of the monks and clergy. Next to the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany, the richest catholic prelacies are found in Spain. The archbishoprics of Toledo, Seville, St. Jago, Valencia, and Saragossa, have larger revenues than any in France. There are monasteries, and particularly some of the Carthusians, the property of which extends to the greatest part of the district in which they are situated ; and these religious foundations, while they depopulate and impoverish the neighbouring country, increase poverty and idleness by indiscriminate charity. Of this Galicia in particular is an example. Two thirds of the province are in the hands of the monks and the clergy. The consequence is that Galicia, although singularly favoured by Nature, which has abundantly provided it with every necessary of life, is perhaps the part of Spain in which knowledge and industry have made the least progress.

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The government, however, which becomes more and more enlightened, is endeavouring to lessen the consequences of such a situation. In the first place the wise choice of prelates prevents in them that display of offensive luxury which, by irritating indigence, diminishes the respect due to religion. Their constant residence in their dioceses produces at least the advantage of making them expend their revenues in the country by which they are paid. All the prelates employ a great part of their income in alms. Several of them, particularly the archbishops of Toledo and Valencia, consecrate a portion to the encouragement of industry, and this is not the only manner in which the riches of the clergy contribute to the good of the state. It will be seen, when we come to treat of the taxes, that they pay considerable contributions. Besides these, the court of Madrid has obtained from the holy see, the power of charging all the great benefices with the

the payment of pensions even to a third of their produce; and by a brief in 1783, this power was extended to all the simple benefices, which produce upwards of two hundred ducats, or about five hundred and fifty livres.

The Spaniards saw, perhaps, more clearly than other states, which pretend to more philosophy, the absurdity of having religious orders, and suffering the heads of them to reside out of the kingdom.

In consequence of this, the Carthusian monasteries in Spain were, in 1784, delivered from their dependance upon the grand Chartreuse; and when I left Madrid there was but two monastic orders, which had their principals or generals at Rome; and the death of these two was only waited for to detach them entirely from this dangerous connexion.

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The severity with which the court of Madrid treated the society of Jesus, the continued vigour with which it pursued the Jesuits, even to their extinction, in the court of Rome and the tranquillity of the nation, whilst these measures were carrying into execution, prove that Spain crouches not so much as it is commonly believed beneath the yoke of superstition, and the absolute empire of monks. It is not by groundless assertions, but by recent and incontestible facts, that we have endeavoured to combat the favourite prejudice of modern Europe, which surely can no longer exist, if such plain and convincing arguments are properly weighed.

In Spain there is but one religious institution which philosophy mourns to see that nation subjected to, an institution of which I am far from undertaking the apology, though I shall refrain from all violent declamations against it, as the greater part of my readers would learn nothing from them, and the remainder would be offended

at their asperity. It is not by invectives that a nation can be cured of its prejudices. This species of intolerance, perhaps more intractable than that which is now almost every where vanquished by reason and humanity, only increases the evil, and irritates those who unhappily labour under its influence. I shall therefore more particularly refrain from all appearance of prejudice whilst speaking of religious intolerance, and of one of its most dreadful institutions. It may easily be perceived that I have the holy office in view, that tribunal to which every odious epithet has for so long a time been given, and which has still, in Spain, two powerful supporters, policy and religion.

Its defenders alledge that the authority of the sovereign finds in the holy office a means of making itself respected, since by chaining the consciences of the subjects it provides another security for their obedience, and prevents, in religious worship and opinion, those
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variations and incertitudes which have but too frequently disturbed the peace of society. They assert that religion gains by it the preservation of its unity and purity, and attribute to the inquisition the tranquillity Spain has in this respect constantly enjoyed, whilst the other Christian states of Europe have been a prey to all the bitterness of religious quarrels, and the turbulent zeal of innovators.

The antagonists of the inquisition maintain on the contrary, that it has constantly excluded light and information from the kingdom, that it has fed superstition and fanaticism, and kept the mind in a servile subjection fit only to repress those vigorous efforts of genius by which great works of every kind are produced; that while it contracts the heart by fear, it prevents the sweet effusions of confidence and friendship, destroys the most intimate connexions which constitute their charms, and for

two whole centuries has condemned Spain to ignorance and barbarism.

These are undoubtedly very serious accusations. An account of the present state of this tribunal will prove how far they are well founded.

I shall not here repeat what is every where to be found in the history of the establishment of the holy office. It was contemporary with our religious wars, with all the outrages which fanaticism has produced in most of the states of Christendom; and under this point of view no nation can reproach the Spaniards.

But, since that period, manners are happily become more civilized, and if by the revolution the primitive constitution of the Spanish inquisition has not been changed, the rigours of it have at least been softened, and are become less frequent. *Auto de fés* are not, the same pompous solemnities as formerly, when by their apparatus, under the pretence of
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honouring religion, they insulted humanity; when the whole nation ran to them, as to a triumph, when the sovereign and all his court were present, believing they thus performed the most meritorious act in the eyes of the Deity, and enjoyed the torments of the victims delivered up to the executioner, and the maledictions of the people; when all the particulars of these barbarous rejoicings were related in books written expressly to describe the part taken in them, and the pleasure received from them by the spectator. After the *auto de fé* in 1680, a work was published, giving the most circumstantial relation of that terrible solemnity. The author seems to have taken as much pleasure in his narration as he could have done in describing a public festivity. “He
“ is about,” he says, “ to relate, with
“ an interesting exactness, all the cir-
“ cumstances of that triumph so glo-
“ rious to the faith, with a list of the
“ nobility present, and a summary of

“ the sentences passed upon the criminals.”

In his dedication he stiles Charles II.
 “ the protector of the church ; the pillar of the faith ; the captain-general
 “ of the militia of God ; the Christian
 “ Jupiter ; who chastises heretics, as
 “ Jupiter formerly did the Titans.”

The censors afterwards approve in the most distinguished manner, a work, which say they, “ for the majesty of its
 “ subject, ought not only to be read
 “ in Spain, but by the whole world.”

The examiner surpasses the censors.
 “ The author,” according to him,
 “ has answered the public expectation
 “ in a moment when curiosity made
 “ the spectacle the object of every wish,
 “ and when the pious impatience of
 “ all true believers complained of delay.” He is above all eulogium, by
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having given, with a scrupulous attention, all the particulars of this wonderful ceremony, thereby proving, “ that
“ in all that regards so solemn a tribunal, the most trifling circumstances
“ are of the greatest importance.” Had not he succeeded so well, he would have been excusable; “ for such sublime and
“ heroic actions are not to be described
“ by words; he was therefore permitted to print this work for the consolation of pious persons, the satisfaction of the absent, and the example of posterity.”

In the course of this truly singular narrative, the author frequently celebrates the pious zeal of the monarch who was himself present at the ceremony.

“ This prince,” says he, “ having
“ given it to be understood, that he
“ should be *very glad* to be present at
“ the celebration of an auto-general,
“ the council (the inquisition) thought

“ it would be shewing him a mark of
 “ respect to afford him an opportunity
 “ to imitate the example of his august
 “ father Philip IV.” Madrid there-
 fore was made the place of exhibition
 instead of Toledo, as at first intended.
 The grand inquisitor went in conse-
 quence to kiss his majesty’s hand, “ af-
 “ furing him that he would take the
 “ most speedy measures for the accom-
 “ plishment of a work which was *so*
 “ agreeable to him.”

The author, at the conclusion, thus
 magnifies the merit which Charles II. ac-
 quired by honouring with his presence the
 whole ceremony, except the last tor-
 ments of the criminals.

“ It was a great consolation,” says
 he, “ to the zealous, a subject of con-
 “ fusion to the indifferent, and of af-
 “ tonishment for all the spectators, to
 “ be witnesses of a constancy worthy of
 “ being admired for ages to come.
 “ From eight o’clock in the morning
 “ his

“ his majesty remained in his balcony,
“ without manifesting the least uneasi-
“ ness from the heat, or the prodigious
“ concourse of people, or appearing
“ wearied by so long a ceremony. His
“ zeal and devotion were so superior to
“ the fatigue, that he did not even
“ withdraw for a quarter of an hour to
“ taste refreshment; and at the end of
“ the ceremony he asked, if there were
“ any thing else to be done, and if he
“ might retire.”

The Spaniards of the present age are far from that cool cruelty which shuts the heart against pity; and are at liberty to compassionate the unhappy victims which suffer the severities of the holy office.

These have, however, been very rare in the present century, in which there has not been one general auto de fé similar to that of 1680.

In

In 1714, some monks, whose monastery (of Corella in Arragon) was in the neighbourhood of a convent of nuns, were convicted of having abused the ascendancy they had gained over their minds, by making them guilty of disorders which they concealed under the veil of religion. This double crime of sacrilege and seduction would anywhere else have been punished in an exemplary manner, by temporal tribunals. It excited the animadversion of the holy office, which condemned to death those who were most culpable, and, according to custom, delivered them over to the secular power.

Eleven years after, the inquisition exercised another act of severity, which I will not undertake equally to justify. A family of Moors was discovered at Granada, peaceably employed in the manufacture of silks, in which they excelled. The ancient laws, supposed to have become obsolete, were for this time renewed with all their rigour, and

and the unhappy Moors were burnt alive,

In 1756, seven persons from among the lower class of people were taken from the prisons of Madrid to hear their sentences pronounced, according to custom, in the church of the Dominican nuns of that capital. One of them, a schoolmaster, who had been falsely accused, was acquitted. The three false witnesses who had deposed against him, one of whom was his wife, were banished for eight years, and condemned to receive two hundred lashes, which were never inflicted. Another really received the lashes, and was the only person then corporally punished, because, as the sentence declared he was *heretic, apostate, inclined to Judaism, was unsettled in his faith, and attached to every sect*. The only crime of one of the seven, who was from Tolouse, consisted the name of *Free-Mason*; his sentence was perpetual banishment, and confiscation of his property. Unhappily for him and
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the judges of the holy office, he had no property. Were the free-masons every where treated with the same severity, their innocent and peaceable society might in its turn become a dangerous sect. The experience of eighteen centuries has sufficiently taught the Christian world that the most efficacious mode of propagating and inflaming the zeal of sectaries, is to persecute them.

In 1763, a particular *auto de fé* was celebrated at Ilerena, when some heretics were delivered to the flames. The obscurity of these victims prevented their punishment from becoming generally public; and the universal terror which the name alone of the inquisition inspired, seemed to be less prevalent. The king, the year before, had restrained the powers of this tribunal. The grand inquisitor having, against the express will of his majesty, published a bull which proscribed a French book, was exiled to a convent thirteen leagues from Madrid. Whilst in exile he endeavoured
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to excuse himself by alledging the immemorial usage, which gave to the holy office the exclusive right of prohibiting dangerous books. At the end of a few weeks he obtained his pardon; but the king, after having taken the advice of his ministers and the council of Castile, in January 1762, issued an ordinance, which established a new regulation relative to the admission of bulls, and stated:

That for the future the grand inquisitor should not be allowed to publish edicts, except when they were sent to him from his majesty.

That when he should receive briefs, by which books were to be prohibited, he should conform to the laws of the country, and publish the prohibition, not supporting himself by the brief, but by his own authority.

That none of these edicts should be published without first being seen and approved by the king.

Finally,

Finally, That the holy office should, before it condemned a book, summon the author before the tribunal, to hear what he might have to say in his defence.

This little triumph of reason and sovereign authority was indeed but short. The year following, the influence of the king's confessor produced a revocation of the edict; but the count de Aranda, in whom vigour of character excludes not that address which seems to be most frequently the concomitant of weak minds, having gained over a mixed council, composed of magistrates and bishops, and which had been established upon the occasion of the expulsion of the Jesuits, revived the order of 1762. This was not the only effort of that wise minister, to circumscribe the power of the holy office; he had long meditated the depriving it of the right to seize the property of the criminals it condemned; a dreadful power, against which it is allowable
boldly

boldly to declaim, even in Spain, because to manifest indignation at the avidity that dares to conceal itself under the sacred veil of religion, and which directs and sharpens the sword of justice, is at once to serve the cause of God and man; besides, that in all places where reason and charity can be heard, the accused ought to be spared the anticipated suffering of seeing their heirs in their judges. The count de Aranda was again upon the point of triumphing over this odious practice; but it was objected, that it furnished a part of the salaries of the officers of the tribunal; and that to supply the failure of this property, it would be necessary to create a fund of upwards of six hundred thousand livres (250000l.) This consideration suspended the revocation which was ready to be pronounced. It is thus that in all governments the best intentions are counteracted by circumstances, and that abuses are perpetuated, because they are connected with something which either means or courage are wanting to attack.

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The count succeeded better in another attempt. Being president of the council of Castile, which, as well by its functions as inclinations, has always been the zealous defender of the rights of sovereignty, and gaining over, by the ascendancy given him by his character and talents, some powerful prelates, whose secret dislike to a tribunal, enriched by episcopal spoils, he took every means to increase, he obtained in 1770 a royal mandate which confined the jurisdiction of the inquisition to the cognizance of the crimes of heresy and apostacy, and forbade it to imprison the subjects of his majesty, unless these crimes were clearly proved.

This was greatly to contract its limits, and to reduce it to the only object which perhaps might have been the motive of its institution in an age when the innovators in matter of doctrine, insulted by their turbulent zeal both religion and morality; and though the edict gave offence to a few weak and fanatical people, it was cele-

celebrated and even magnified in foreign countries. The moment was supposed to be at hand when the hydra, which philosophy had long before condemned, was to be destroyed.

The resignation of the count de Aranda, which happened soon after, did not prevent similar measures from being pursued, because distinguished and enlightened persons were still at the head of administration, who, notwithstanding their zeal for religion, had imbibed the same principles. Security was re-established in the minds of men without banishing the respect due to religion and its ministers. This was insured by the goodness and moderation of the monarch, and the tolerating maxims of those in whom he principally confided. The time of rigour and cruelty seemed to be passed, and the holy office appeared to slumber, when in 1777 it suddenly shook off its supinehefs at the expence of an illustrious victim, and terror and false zeal were again roused through all

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Spain, and throughout the rest of Europe the indignation of every rational friend to the blessings of a wise toleration again excited.

Don Pablo Olavidé, born in Peru, had been raised by his distinguished abilities to one of the first employments in the state, that of intendant of the four kingdoms of Andalusia and assistant of Seville. His sage measures in this important post had excited admiration and gratitude, but envy was at the same time more active than either of these sentiments; when new opportunities presented to signalize his zeal. The king had conceived a project worthy of his beneficence, which was to clear and people that part of Sierra Morena which is crossed by the road from Madrid to Cadiz, a district formerly inhabited and cultivated, but lately overgrown with wood, and become a retreat for robbers and wild beasts. M. Olavidé was appointed to carry this plan into effect, and acquitted himself of his commission in
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the most distinguished manner; he however could not avoid the ordinary rock of all great enterprizes. He made himself enemies; and drew upon him the hatred of father Romuald, a German capuchin, who had brought into the Sierra Morena, a patent from the general of his order, by which he was declared prefect of all new missions, and from which he wished to arrogate to himself an unlimited authority in every thing which could be made to have the least connexion with religion. He met with opposition from the grand vicar, to whom the bishop of the diocese had delegated his powers in the Sierra Morena. He was still more opposed by M. Olavidé, who otherwise gave him a good reception, and received him into his intimacy. The disappointed ambition of the monk became furious. Some indiscreet expressions from M. Olavidé in an unguarded moment, because he was without suspicion, supplied him with an opportunity to gratify his revenge, which perhaps he disguised, even to himself,

under the name of zeal for religion. He fomented the discontents of some of the settlers who were his own countrymen, and made use of them to discredit the new establishment and its principal conductor. The memoirs he presented to the council of Castile, were full of the most serious charges against M. Olavidé. The council caused them to be examined by an impartial judge, and traced them back to their corrupted source.

M. Olavidé, however, who far from suspicion, still continued his operations with zeal, was suddenly ordered to court in the month of November, 1775, there to confer concerning different objects relative to his mission.

Whilst he resided at Madrid, in the most perfect security, he discovered by accident the treacherous conspiracy which was labouring to effect his destruction. He learned from intercepted letters, that father Romuald had planned his ruin to enrich himself with his spoils,
and

and that he was not without a hope that the court itself would favour his detestable plot. The contents of these letters were communicated to the monarch, who ordered them to be examined by one of his tribunals.

But these were not the only weapons employed by the vindictive and ambitious monk. M. Olavidé was informed by some friends whom he still had in the Sierra Morena, that the preceding year father Romuald had accused him to the minister of foreign affairs, of being wanting in respect to divine worship and ecclesiastical discipline, in the new colonies, and of having in his possession prohibited books: and also that he had but a short time before accused him to the holy office.

However alarming this information might be, M. Olavidé confided in the rectitude of his own conscience. He still remained at Madrid, and solicited the ministers to convey to the foot of

the throne the proofs of his innocence, or at least to plead his long services, and the important offices he had held, which seemed to recommend him to the indulgence of the monarch. He went several times to the grand inquisitor with offers to prove his submission to the holy office ; he protested the purity of his faith and offered to retract the expressions which might have escaped him to the prejudice of religion. His offers and protestations were coldly received. He thence concluded that legal but secret measures were taking for his justification ; and the mysterious silence of the holy office appeared to him no bad omen.

During his stay of almost a year at Madrid, he was particularly circumspect in his whole conduct, hoping thus to avert the storm which however soon after broke over his head.

The 14th of November, 1776, a grandee of Spain in quality of *Alguasil Mayor* of
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of the inquisition, accompanied by some officers of justice, arrested him in his house, and conveyed him to the prison of the holy office. From that moment he was lost to his wife, children, relations, and friends. Until the day his sentence was pronounced they were ignorant of the part of the world he was in, whether he were dead or alive, and had given over all hopes of ever seeing him more.

At the same time his wife, who was at Carolina, where she had remained during the absence of her husband, saw the officers of the inquisition arrive and seize all his property, books, and papers; whilst another detachment did the same at his house in Seville.

These proceedings produced different sensations in the minds of different men. The rivals of M. Olavidé, the enemies which envy and ambition had excited against him and some devotees, constant in their zeal for the cause of religion, con-

sidered it as a triumph. Several of his more rigid countrymen thought it a just chastisement for the imprudencies attributed to him; for in fact, said they, he might have had other judges, and not have escaped unpunished. Consternation was however the most general sentiment. Each began to tremble for himself, fearing least he should find in his most intimate connexions both spies and accusers. How might it afterwards be possible to enjoy the sweet communications of confidence and friendship? What man was prudent enough and sufficiently sure of himself to concert all his actions, weigh his expressions, and never to furnish matter of accusation for a secret enemy, a corrupted servant, a friend, or even a son led astray by his scruples? The holy office is perhaps more just than severe; but its proceeding is dreadful. How can an accused person disculpate himself when he neither knows his crime nor accusers? And how is it possible to avert the thunderbolt which is prepared in silence and in
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the obscurity of its inaccessible labyrinth?

Such were the reasonings dictated by terror during the imprisonment of M. Olavidé. After passing from a profound calm to the agitations of a tempest, dangers will ever appear greater. The most intrepid minds are shaken by unexpected strokes; the apparent supineness of the inquisition, had re-established security, but its sudden revival terrified every one. The first impression was besides rendered more lasting by other circumstances. The monks thought the time of regaining their lost power was arrived. Scarcely was M. Olavidé arrested before it was known that a mission of capuchins at Seville had abandoned themselves to the excess of their zeal, and loudly exclaimed against the profane theatres to which he had given encouragement in that city. At the same time the inquisitions of the provinces partook of the triumph of that capital, and made an essay of their returning power. The inquisition of Ca-

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diz renewed a ceremony which had been neglected for half a century, and which is annually repeated at Madrid, that of solemnly reading all the decrees of the holy office, the bulls upon which its power is founded, and all the anathemas fulminated against heresy and irreligion. This ceremony was accompanied with everything that could strike awe into the multitude. An edict was published which enjoined all the faithful of above ten years of age to be present at it, under pain of excommunication. It seemed as if the holy office wished to make a mockery of the alarm of the public.

The prosecution however of M. Olavidé was carried on with the utmost secrecy. His fate was decided after a rigorous imprisonment of a year and seven days, during which he had not the consolation of having even one of his servants suffered to approach him,

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On the 21st of November, 1778, an assembly was held in the hall of the inquisition, to which forty persons of different orders were invited, among whom were several grandees of Spain, general officers, priests, and monks.

The sitting lasted three hours and a half. The criminal appeared cloathed in yellow, carrying in his hand a green taper, and accompanied by two ministers of the holy office. All the proceedings were read. The most interesting part was the circumstantial relation he himself had given in of his whole life. In this he confessed that in his travels he had frequented the society of atheists, namely, Voltaire and Rousseau, with whom he had discussed questions concerning religion, though without suffering himself to be seduced by their arguments; that notwithstanding, he had returned to Spain with many prejudices against the clergy, and persuaded that the privileges and opinions of the church of Rome were repugnant to the

the prosperity of states ; that since he had been placed over the colonies of the Sierra Morena, he had openly and without reflection, avowed his opinion concerning the obstacles which retarded their progress, the infallibility of the pope, and the tribunal of the inquisition ; but that none of his expressions had the meaning attributed to them by those who heard him.

Afterward were produced the depositions of seventy-eight witnesses, who accused him of having frequently spoken the language of deists, uttered blasphemy, and ridiculed the priests. To several of these charges he pleaded guilty, and denied others, asserting that in all these cases his words had never expressed his true sentiments ; that his object had sometimes only been to animate the industry of the settlers confided to his care, among whom the exterior practices of religion were frequently nothing more than pretexts for idleness ; and that when he declaimed against the ill consequences

sequences of celibacy his view had merely been to encourage population, so necessary to the prosperity of his country.

This defence appeared neither respectful nor satisfactory. It was alledged against him as a crime that he had used every means of eluding the justice of the holy office, had intercepted letters to engage the witnesses brought against him to retract ; and these circumstances were all proved by writings under his own hand.

In short, the tribunal adjudged him attainted and convicted of every charge made against him ; and in consequence pronounced his sentence, which declared him heretic in form. He interrupted the reading by denying that he deserved so harsh an appellation. This was, during the final and terrible sitting, the last effort of his firmness. He fainted on the bench on which he sat, and as soon as he recovered himself, the reading

ing of the sentence was continued. It confiscated all his property, declared him incapable of holding any employment, exiled him to twenty leagues from Madrid, from every place of royal residence, from Seville, the theatre of his fallen authority, and from Lima his country; it condemned him to be shut up eight years in a monastery, where he was to peruse such works of piety as should be put into his hands, to do penance, and to go to confession once a month. He afterwards made his solemn abjuration, and with all the ceremony prescribed by the canons was absolved from the censures he had incurred.

All who were present declare that he shewed the most unequivocal marks of resignation and repentance, and that it was impossible to refuse him their compassion.

It has been asserted that the personal clemency of the monarch, and (who will believe it) that of the grand inquisitor,

tor, mitigated the rigour of his sentence ; that some of his judges were of opinion he ought to suffer death, and several of them that a public punishment should be inflicted upon him ; it is even said, that one of these rigorous sentences was supported by a person near the monarch, whose fanatical zeal for the cause of God, made him believe the scandal ought to be repaired by a public example. It was however difficult to learn the rest of the secret particulars of this affair. Curiosity and indiscretion were restrained by fear. A conjecture, an expression, might be misinterpreted and imbitter the life of the author. The greatest security seemed to be in silence. People were in a situation something like that described by Tacitus in the life of Agricola : *Adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio.*

It must however be observed in favour of the Spanish government, that this crisis did not continue long. The
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mind became more easy by reflecting upon the benevolence and equity of the sovereign, and the wisdom of his ministers, particularly of one who at that time was called near his person. Even the peculiar circumstances of the victim who had just been sacrificed contributed to dissipate public terror. His talents and success had excited envy before he had drawn upon himself the animadversion of the holy office; and the people, become more calm, hoped to make their obscurity a rampart against the rigours of the tribunal. What followed proved that they were but momentary, and that milder principles reigned in the privy council of the king.

It is true the sentence of M. Olavidé was begun to be carried into execution. He was confined in a convent of la Mancha. But soon afterwards, complaining of the ill state of his health, he obtained permission to go and drink the mineral waters in the neighbourhood; finding but little benefit from them, liberty was given

given him to go to others in Catalonia, which he hoped would prove more efficacious. Had his sentence been intended to be executed in all the severity with which it had been pronounced, means would not have been wanting to have hindered him from taking advantage of the proximity of the frontiers. He easily deceived the vigilance of his keepers, and bidding a final adieu to his country, which still was dear to him, escaped to France where he was preceded by his reputation, and received as a martyr to intolerance. He has taken the title of count de Pilos and leads an agreeable life, seeking in the society of men of letters, the conversation of the friends he has acquired, and the moderate enjoyment of the pleasures of the capital, consolation for his loss of power and patronage; and what is still more difficult to him, for that banishment which for ever separates him from his fellow-citizens. The court of Spain, it is said, has reclaimed him, but that of France, without pretending that the latter king-

dom may with impunity become the asylum of those who are proscribed by a nation in alliance with it, has amicably represented to the cabinet of Madrid, that the crimes of M. Olavide were not of a nature like to those of which polished states had mutually agreed to give up the perpetrators. It is added, that the court of Madrid, whose severity is far from being implacable, and which it is imagined had yielded only to the impulse of a persecuting sentiment not its own, has forborne to insist farther on its demand.

Since this event the inquisition has in one case justified the apprehensions it had excited. Toleration, or which is the same thing, humanity, shuddered at the torments inflicted upon a poor woman, who, having been convicted of *sorcery* and *witchcraft*, was burned at Seville, in 1780, in consequence of the sentence of that tribunal.

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Except in these instances its authority has been exercised only at long intervals upon some individuals, who, having used irreligious expressions, were pardoned upon retraction, after having been enjoined a trifling penance.

I was at Madrid in 1784, when a circumstance happened which proves that this tribunal, notwithstanding the terror its forms have ever inspired, is sometimes less severe than many secular courts of justice.

A beggar who generally took his stand at the door of a church, had employed his leisure in inventing and selling a species of powder to which he attributed miraculous effects. It was composed of ingredients the particulars of which would make the reader blush. The beggar had drawn up some singular formularies to be repeated at the time of taking the powder; and required, to give it its effect, that those who took it should put themselves into certain postures

more easily imagined than described. His composition was one of those amorous philtres in which our ignorant ancestors had so much faith ; his, he pretended, had the power of restoring a disgusted lover, and of softening the heart of a cruel fair one. Whatever flatters our passions has some claim to our credulity. The impostor wanted not for customers in that class over which the marvellous has so much empire ; and a few accidental successes gave reputation to his nostrum. He associated himself with some common women who distributed it. His powders, however, as it will easily be believed, were often employed without effect. Most of the persons whom he deceived, less irritated than ashamed, kept profound silence ; but at length others made complaints which were soon carried to the holy office. The beggar was arrested and led with his accomplices to the inquisition, where they were prosecuted in form. The impudent empiric avowed every thing ; he explained the composition of his powder
and

and gave up his receipt and formularies. The result was one of the most singular proceedings which ever came before a tribunal. The day of vengeance arrived. The judges, criminals, and a crowd of spectators of both sexes assembled in the church of the dominican nuns at Madrid. Divine service was begun, but afterwards interrupted to read the strange proceedings. The temple of the most high was not supposed to be profaned by a recital of the obscenities contained in the summary. Such were the laws of the holy office, and these were not dispensed with in favour of some women of quality, who hid their confusion behind their fans. Even the nuns, less attached to their scruples than to the privileges of their church, lost no part of the ceremony, and their modest ears were insulted with the shameful relation. The sentence was pronounced and executed after mass was over.

The beggar was declared attainted and convicted of forcery, profanation and imposture, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment after having been whipped in the principal quarters of the city. Two women, his accomplices, were treated with more indulgence.

The three criminals soon left the church ; they were mounted upon asses, and each clothed in a *sambenito* covered with painted devils and other symbolical figures. They wore on their heads the fatal pyramidical bonnet called *coraza*, which resembles, perhaps, too much the pontifical mitre of our prelates. The man was naked down to his waist, and exposed to the eyes of the public a plumpness which could be attributed to nothing but the sale of his powders. The procession was headed by the marquis of Cogolludo, the eldest son of the duke of Medina Celi, who in quality of Alguasil Mayor presided at the ceremony. He was followed by several grandees of Spain

Spain, associates of the holy office, and other officers of the tribunal. The windows were filled, and the streets thronged with curious spectators. The triumphant entry of a hero, returning to his country after having saved it, could not have been more pompous than the ceremony of which a vile criminal was the object; and this spectacle, by which curiosity was so much excited, unlike to others of the same kind, offered nothing which might wound sensibility. Never was a sentence so well deserved executed with greater mildness. The criminal stopped from time to time, and scarcely did the executioner touch his shoulders with the whip, when some charitable hand presented him with a glass of Spanish wine to enable him to finish his career. It were to be wished that the holy office had never exercised greater severity.

In fact, this tribunal is at present far from being so dreadful as in other countries it is generally believed. Its forms

are, however, terrifying even to those who are persuaded of its equity. Prosecutions are carried on with the greatest secrecy; the advocate granted to criminals to make their defence, cannot speak to or see them but in the presence of the inquisitors. But the most odious proceeding of all is, that when the depositions received against any person accused are communicated to him, the names of the accusers are carefully concealed*. It is to be regretted, that a country in which the laws are daily improved, and where every department of

* The institutions according to which the holy office regulates its proceedings are of the year 1561. These were become very scarce, but have been reprinted among the proofs and illustrations of a book which appeared in 1785, under the title of *Maximas sobre recursos de fuerza*. We imagine the reader will not be displeased at finding a translation of them at the end of this work. The perusal of them may perhaps rectify some of his ideas of the holy office, by informing him of all the precautions they prescribe, that the accused may not be condemned but upon the fullest conviction.

govern-

government becomes more and more enlightened, should still continue in one of its tribunals a mode of proceeding, the inconveniencies of which have been perceived by every modern system of jurisprudence, and which besides is not essential to the end of its institution. When the holy office shall publicly prosecute criminals, and name and confront their accusers, when it shall allow them every means of proving their innocence, will its laws be less observed? or will the sacred interests committed to its care be less attended to? The apologists for its present constitution will undoubtedly object, that the certainty accusers have of the secrecy of their depositions encourages others to give farther information, which without such a precaution might never be obtained; that most informers would be restrained by a false shame, the fear of exposing themselves to the indignation of the public and the resentment of the accused, or by some other motives. But would its zeal for the cause of God make it

it apprehend a diminution of the number of its justifiers? I will not do it so much injury as to believe this. Purity of faith and respect for true religion ought certainly to be vigilantly maintained; and an enemy to either merits to be punished. But can we imagine that gratitude to benefactors, filial affection, domestic fidelity, and the charitable indulgence we owe to our fellow creatures are less estimable virtues in the sight of the Supreme Being? And would his cause be betrayed, if less praise-worthy motives should prevent some accusations. Besides, have not other tribunals different means of discovering the guilty? Are not those which are charged with the prosecution of offenders sufficient to take cognizance of offences, and legally to inflict punishment on those whose crimes materially affect the interest of religion and society? And do criminals of this description often escape the hands of justice? With respect to such as would remain undiscovered, without the evidence of witnesses,

nesses whose indignation their actions might have excited, what can religion gain by their discovery? Their public punishment only makes a whole nation acquainted with the scandal which otherwise might have been confined to a few individuals. May not those whose crimes have, if I may use the expression, none but God for witness, be without any ill consequence left to his vengeance, certainly much more just and less easy to elude than that of men?

In whatever light these reflections may be considered, I repeat that, the forms of procedure excepted, the inquisition may at present be esteemed as a model of equity and mildness. It takes every possible means of verifying the depositions it receives.

Let it not be said that the resentment of a secret enemy is sufficient to provoke its rigours. It condemns not upon the evidence of one accuser, nor without

out discussing the proofs of the accusations. Serious and repeated crimes are necessary to incur its censures; which, with a little circumspection in words and conduct relative to religion, are easily to be escaped, and men may live as little molested in Spain as in any other country in Europe. The indiscrete zeal of some of the commissaries of the inquisition, disturbs, indeed, in some places, the quiet of the inhabitants, by entering their houses to confiscate pictures esteemed too licentious, or prohibited books; but this zeal is mostly repressed, either by the court or the grand inquisitor, who, in the present reign, has always been a learned and prudent prelate.

I was informed at Cadiz, that some French merchants, having received a consignment of leather from one of our manufactories, were much alarmed at seeing the officers of the inquisition enter their houses. These desired to see the leather newly arrived, and having observed

observed that it bore the image of the holy virgin, which was the mark of the manufacture, exclaimed against the profanation. They remarked that the leather being intended to make shoes, the image of the Mother of Christ ran the hazard of being trodden under foot, and therefore confiscated it. The affair was referred to the supreme tribunal at Madrid. The merchants, much alarmed, had recourse to the court, by means of their ambassador. The court and the tribunal received the complaint in the manner it merited. The officers of the inquisition were enjoined not to molest strangers under such trifling prettexts, and the merchants recovered their leather without farther trouble.

On other occasions, still more recent, the minister and the grand inquisitor himself, have protected the inhabitants against the cavils of the subalterns of the holy office. In a city of Andalusia they attempted to give disturbance to a French house, because they
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were Protestants ; and when it was observed to them that the English and other northern nations were tolerated in Spain, notwithstanding they were heretics, they answered, that the Catholic religion was the only one in France. The cause, however, of this persecuted house was no sooner brought before the court than it was gained.

In fine, though we should admit that bigotry is more prevalent in the provinces than in the capital, no great inconveniencies can ever arise from it ; because the sentences of the provincial tribunals have no force until they have obtained the sanction of that of Madrid, which, on that account, bears the name of *Suprema*. Besides, the court scrutinizes more strictly than ever the proceedings of the holy office, and certainly not with an intention of increasing its severity.

It was enacted, in 1784, that when the office should have finished the prosecution

secution of any grandee of Spain, any of his majesty's ministers, any officers in the army, member of a tribunal, or any person in place, the whole proceedings should be laid before the king to be revised and examined. By this law the principal persons in the kingdom have obtained an additional security against the arbitrary rigours of the holy office. It is to be regretted, that it was calculated to defend those who cannot want protection rather than those whose obscurity frequently renders their complaints ineffectual, and who consequently are exposed to be unjustly treated with more impunity. But the people are almost every where oppressed, or forgotten, by the laws, because they have no part in framing them.

The holy office to this day receives a certain tax from each vessel that arrives in any of the ports of Spain, in consequence of the examination it is authorized to make, in order to see that the vessel contains nothing that may be
offen-

offensive to religion. The search has for a long time been neglected, but the duty is still paid to the office. Were this the only complaint against the inquisition, we should easily be reconciled to it.

I shall conclude what I have to say, concerning this tribunal, with a very sincere wish, unaccompanied by any sentiment of asperity, that the kings of Spain may believe themselves sufficiently assured of the obedience of their subjects, the vigilance of their temporal courts of judicature, and the pious zeal of Spanish prelates, to be convinced the holy office is entirely unnecessary.

Before I quit the subject, I shall take notice of a political body, which many strangers confound with the inquisition, but which has no other relation with it than their common epithet.

This

This is the holy hermandad, much spoken of in Spanish novels; it is no more than a confraternity, in different parts of the kingdom of Castile, whose only object is to watch over the safety of the country by pursuing and apprehending those who disturb the public peace. It is subordinate to the council of Castile, from which it receives its regulations. One of the strictest is that which prevents its jurisdiction from extending to cities. The principal detachments from it are at Toledo, Ciudad Rodrigo and Talavera.

In following the plan I had laid down for myself, I have begun with the interior administration of Spain, and the council of Castile, which naturally leads to the administration of justice, to legislation, and by these to the tribunal of the holy office. I shall next take a view of the different councils of the monarchy: which will enable the reader to form a proper idea of the constitution of the kingdom.

The council of finances, like the council of Castile, is divided into several chambers :

The *Sala*, or chamber *de Gobierno*, charged with the administration of finances.

The chamber *de Justicia*, which judges processes, and has cognizance of every thing relating to the farmers of the revenue, contractors and smugglers. It is also the tribunal for those whose causes are referred to the council of finance.

The *Sala de Millones*, for every thing that relates to taxes and imposts.

The *Sala de la Unica contribucion*, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter, the business of which is to compile a universal register of Spain.

Lastly, the *Contaduria Mayor*, or chamber of accounts, which examines the accounts of the treasurers of the army and

and navy, all leases and contracts between the king and his subjects, and the accounts of state creditors; but its decisions must receive the sanction of the justice chamber of the council of finance.

This must not be confounded with the *Contaduria de Valores*, a particular office, the functions of which are to keep an account of all the rents in the kingdom, and the favours and privileges granted by the king to cities and communities.

The royal treasure is kept by two general treasurers, members of the council of finances, who are alternately in office for a year, under the inspection of the council; three general directors of rents who attend to their receipts, and have under them the collectors, and commissioners of duties, and their numerous fiscal agents.

In 1714, Philip V. substituted the immediate receipt instead of the farm for

all interior as well as custom-house revenues. But at the end of two years, the old method was again adopted; the council of finances left the collection of duties upon merchandize to commissioners, but again farmed out the interior taxes. This form existed until 1742. The people suffered by it with the impatience excited by evils, which proceed not immediately from the power to which they are obliged to be subject. The farmers were oppressive in order to extort from them exact accounts of their property, and tax it accordingly.

Representations were made to Philip the Fifth, which stated all the irregularities in the collection. The representation of 1734, may be found in the *Economica politica de Zabala*; and in the institute of Don Martin de Loynaz, 1747. It is necessary to read these to be convinced, that wherever there are men there are abuses also, and to be less sensible of those to which we are witnesses or victims.

Cam-

Campillo, however, who had passed through all the offices of administration, and who possessed firmness and extensive knowledge, had frequently asked the Spanish farmers-general what they gained by their farms: according to their own accounts, they were constantly losers. Campillo, determined to learn the truth, suddenly put six of the twenty-two provinces, of which Castile is composed, into commission. The marquis de la Ensenada extended this measure to fourteen others, in 1747, and since that time all the finances of Spain, with a few exceptions, have been managed by commissioners.

Two years afterwards Ferdinand VI. adopted a project which had often been agitated in Spain, that of reducing all the imposts to one, or at least of converting into one contribution those which form what are called provincial rents, and produce about thirty-four or thirty-five millions of livres (or about a million and a half sterling). In 1749,

an order appeared, which established a particular commission for this purpose, and provided that all researches, declarations and verifications should be made at the king's expence. The commission took the name of *Sala de la Unica Contribucion*. It employs thirty thousand persons, and its annual expence is upwards of three millions of livres (125000l) It must be allowed, not always to make comparisons to our disadvantage, that the reveries of our œconomists upon a single impost have not been so expensive.

Until the operations of this chamber, of which the public has no great opinion, shall have answered the purpose for which so much care and money have been applied, the defective form of the chamber of finances will remain; the people suffer by it, and good citizens loudly complain; but the sovereigns of the present family, although at different times assisted by able ministers, have not yet been able to find a remedy.

The

The finances of Spain are divided into two classes, which compose almost all the revenues of the king: *General Rents* and *Provincial Rents*.

The first arise from duties paid at the frontiers upon merchandize entering or going out of the kingdom. The duties are different with respect to name and rate in different provinces. In those where the Moors longest resided, they have preserved the Arabian name *Almojarifazgo*, first given to a custom-house duty that has been successively increased, and upon which the Spaniards have speculated more or less advantageously with commercial nations. It is still known by the same name in the Canary islands, where it produces to the king six per cent. upon all merchandize.

In most of the other provinces it has been increased by degrees to fifteen per cent. upon every article of importation or exportation.

In Catalonia, the duties of exportation and importation, received by the king, are not four per cent. *ad valorem*.

Although the frontier of Navarre, on the side of France, be free, a duty is nevertheless paid there of five per cent. upon every commodity which has passed it to enter, and three and a half for whatever is to go beyond it.

There is another species of duty upon the frontiers of Portugal, which are called *Puertos secos*, dry ports. According to a tariff made out in 1668, a duty of twelve and three-fourths per cent. is there required upon all kinds of merchandize.

Hence it already appears, that the finances of France are not the only ones which are complicated, different in different places, full of exceptions, and exposed to the caprice of those who collect the imposts. What I have mentioned
is

is but a slight sketch of the complication of those of Spain.

Besides these general laws which extend to the greatest part of merchandize, there are several articles, such as cacao, chocolate, sugar and paper, which pay particular duties.

The whole produce of the general rents when they were farmed did not amount to six millions and a half of livres (about 270000 l.) A few years after they were put into commission they produced ten millions (above 400000 l.) and have since increased. In 1776, they produced about thirteen millions (500000), and something more than eleven (450000 l.) in 1777.

There are some other duties which may be included in the general rents, although differently collected, and their produce enters not the same chest; such are

The

The duties of the *office of health*, first established at Cadiz, and since extended to the other sea ports of the kingdom,

The duties of the *grand admiral*, which were appropriated to the treasury by Ferdinand V. in 1748.

Two other duties, one under the name of *Lanzas*, the other of *Medias Annatas*. Demi annates or half first fruits. The first is an annual contribution paid by all the grandees of Spain, and every citizen honoured with a title of Castile. For these it was fixed at nine hundred livres (37l. 10s.) The duty of *Medias Annatas* is paid at each descent of the dignity of grandee or title of Castile, and may be estimated at five thousand five hundred livres (230l.) once paid. It is also levied upon all employments on entering upon which oaths are taken, and consists in half the salary of one year. I know not the exact amount of these two duties united. The *rent of*
wools,

wools, which is the duty paid upon their going out of the kingdom in proportion to their quality and the nature of the district in which they are produced ; and which since the year 1558, when it was first levied, has been at various times augmented. The farmers did not give three millions of livres for it ; but at present it produces almost six.

The produce from the sale of salt, which is exclusively sold for the king's account, in the provinces of the crown of Arragon, as well as in those of Castile at twenty-two rials a *fanegue*, taken at the salt-pits, about five sols and a half (2½d.) a measure, which weighs from sixty to eighty pounds, makes a separate article in the finances of Spain. The price of salt is uniform throughout the kingdom, some drawback however is granted in the sea-ports in favour of salting provisions. The dry salt-pits, and those of Andalusia, are not sufficient for the national consumption, on which account great quantities of salt are brought

brought from Portugal. This is distributed to the people every six months, and the first quantity is not paid for until the delivery of the second. Seizures and executions are rare in Spain with respect to salt; and the un pitying avidity of the treasury does not there oppose the design of nature which has given to the inhabitants of the earth this article of first necessity in abundance, and intended not that they should find in it one of the sources of oppression under which they groan. For these reasons, the revenue from salt is not considerable; it scarcely exceeds four millions, which is not the tenth part of what it produces in France, notwithstanding the population of this kingdom is not more than double that of Spain.

There is still a greater difference between the profits arising to these two kingdoms from the exclusive sale of tobacco for the account of the sovereign. According to the calculations of Mr. Necker, they amount in France to one hundred

hundred and twenty-six millions of livres (5250000l.) In Spain they scarcely produce twenty millions, (830000l.) yet in the article of smoaking tobacco, the consumption must be more considerable there than in France. All this tobacco is furnished by the Portuguese, who procure it from Brasil, and the Spaniards prefer it to every other. By virtue of the last lease from the court of Spain, the Portuguese give it at less than ten sols (five pence) a pound, and the king sells it at six livres (five shillings). At the expiration of the lease, if the Americans offer it at a lower price, it is said they may have the preference.

All the tobacco made into snuff which is legally consumed in Spain, comes from the Island of Cuba. The king pays rather dearer for it than for that from Brasil, and sells it at six livres a pound also. However, all is not clear profit to the treasury, the salaries of persons employed, the expence of snuff manu-

manufactories, &c. which amount to forty sols a pound, must be deducted.

It will easily be imagined that all tobacco not sold on the king's account, is severely prohibited ; but it will scarcely be imagined that the prohibitory law, the publication of which is from time to time repeated, makes the punishment for selling it, in certain cases, *death*. The law is as seldom executed as all others which are too severe, and where there is frequent temptation to violate them. Great quantities of tobacco are smuggled into Spain : and the sellers of it, by taking a guinea a pound for the risks they run to gratify the inclination which men always have for whatever is forbidden them, are considerable gainers by its prohibition.

There is besides a particular tribunal which, under the name of *Junta del tobacco*, determines all the causes relative to the duty upon that article, and enforces the
law

law which prohibits the *rasped* (rapé) tobacco, the name by which that not manufactured in Spain is known. This is reduced to a very fine powder and afterwards mixed with a species of fine earth of a reddish hue which gives it its colour and oiliness.

When I left Madrid, it was in agitation to permit the Spaniards the use of rasped tobacco. It was calculated that the treasury would be a gainer by this measure, and that it would be a considerable saving to the snuff-takers, now exposed to the impositions of smugglers. I know not what became of the project. Spain would have no need of recurring to other nations to carry it into execution. She is perhaps the richest of any in the article of tobacco, as well as in several other respects. The cultivation of this plant has perfectly succeeded in most of her colonies, as in Mexico, upon the coast of Caracas, and more especially in Louisiana and Trinidad, two colonies of which the tobacco will perhaps one day

day be preferred to that of every other country. The cultivation of it in Mexico was not begun before the year 1765. In 1778, the sale of it on the king's account in that colony alone produced four millions of piaſtres, about twenty millions of livres (above 800000*l.*) In 1784, it produced upwards of fix millions of piaſtres; whence, however, muſt be deducted the expences of cultivation and thoſe of collecting the duty. But the miniſter of the Indies, whoſe vigilance and activity, ſucceſsfully attacks all abuſes, expects the moſt favourable effects from the reforms of this kind which he has undertaken. He alſo propoſes to ſupply Mexico with the tobacco of Louiſiana, which is better and leſs dear, and to extend to the reſt of Spaniſh America, this ſource of revenues to the royal treaſury, which during ſo long a time has received nothing from theſe extenſive colonies.

There are alſo other articles in *eſtanco*, that is, excluſively ſold for the king's account.

account. These are, brandy *, lead, gunpowder, cards, Spanish wax and stamped paper. I omit other little local duties, the particulars of which would carry me beyond the limits I have prescribed myself in this work.

But the most reprehensible part of the taxes of Spain is the second of the classes, into which we at first divided them, the *provincial rents*: a species of impost which chiefly falling upon the consumption of the most necessary articles, burdens the people, and is one of the greatest obstacles to industry.

Government is indeed convinced of the impropriety; but it proceeds from

* Brandy and other spirituous liquors are not properly in *estanco*. The sale of them has been free throughout the kingdom since 1746; but the following year the council proposed to establish a magazine for the king's account, and most people prefer purchasing there because the liquors are better and cheaper.

circumstances which it would be necessary to change at the same time that it was removed; the continual urgency of state necessities, has never permitted government to risk the safety of its revenues by experiments which might create confusion, or be of doubtful success. To produce such revolutions, favourable conjunctures would be necessary, and a sovereign and ministers who should not be alarmed at the clamours ever excited by innovations, and who, after having chosen from different systems that best adapted to the happiness of the people, and the least offensive to received prejudices, should have sufficient resolution and constancy to introduce it slowly, without violent efforts; and finally, who not too eager to enjoy the fruits of their labour, would not sacrifice to the vain pleasure of producing a great revolution, the advantage of effecting one both durable and solid. But this union of circumstances cannot
but

but be very rare in Spain as well as in other countries.

In the mean time the subjects of the Spanish monarchy are exposed to a most destructive system of taxation. The provincial rents are, First, the produce of a duty upon wine, oil, meat, vinegar, candles, &c. The first time this was levied was in the year 1590. Philip II. overwhelmed by the weight of the ruinous enterprises to which he was impelled by his ambition, proposed it to the Cortes, who consented upon conditions, most of which have been violated. This grant, which has since been renewed every six years, has had different augmentations, called the services of the *Millones*, because it was for a certain number of millions of ducats that they were made. This impost is collected in two modes, either immediately by the commissioners of finance, or by way of subscription; *encabezamientos*.

The second method has only the advantage of diminishing the number of persons employed by the treasury ; but it is in reality more oppressive to the people. The distribution of the sum for which many cities, boroughs, and communities have subscribed is arbitrarily made by the magistracy of each, who establish a public magazine or warehouse (*abasto*) where individuals are obliged to purchase by retail the articles subject to the duty. The lower classes of people who cannot, like persons in easy circumstances, lay in a stock, feel all the weight of this odious policy. Their houses are searched to see that they consume nothing but what they purchase from the *abasto* ; hence arise oppressive prosecutions, which sometimes double to those least able to afford it their proportion of the sum the city or community to which they belong has subscribed ; so true it is, that the powerful are everywhere favoured at the expence of the weak,

weak, whilst the state gains nothing by the oppression of the latter.

Secondly. The *provincial rents* also consist of the *alcabale*, a duty paid upon the sale of all moveables and immoveables.

This was first granted by the Cortes, in 1342. It was then but a twentieth of the thing sold. In 1349, it was increased to a tenth, and rendered perpetual. In the sixteenth century it received four additions, each an hundredth part; whence they received the name of *Cientos*.

These two duties united, and collected together under the common denominations of *alcabale y cientos*, ought therefore, strictly speaking, to amount to fourteen per cent. but they vary in different cities and provinces according to the privileges granted by the sovereign, which in some places have entirely superseded them; and they are no where levied to their utmost extent, which

however does not prevent their being burthenfome to commerce and induftry.

Thirdly. The *tercias reales* are another impoft jointly collected with the provincial rents; they are the two-ninths which the court of Rome, in 1274, permitted the kings of Spain to receive upon all the tenths of their kingdom. They are received in kind from the produce of the earth, and afterwards fold for the king's account. This impoft fcarcely produces fifteen hundred thoufand livres, (62500l.) and would be fufceptible of a confiderable augmentation, did not government, in collecting it, truft to the unfaithful ftatements of the ecclefiaftical offices.

Fourthly. The *ordinary and extraordinary fervice*, and *its fifteenth in the thoufand*, is a fpecies of tax paid by the ignoble only, who in Spain are known by the denomination of *eflado general*. It is collected with the *alcabale y cientos*, according to an affeffment made by the tribu-

tribunals, in proportion to the known property of each of the contributors.

Fifthly. There is an impost upon the sale of fouda and barilla, with some other particular taxes, which cannot be enumerated in this general account.

Lastly. The duties of entry into Madrid form another source of revenue for the king; they are at present farmed out to the community of *Gremios*, at seven millions and a half of reals. All the interior contributions of the provinces of the crown of Castile produce about thirty-four or thirty-five millions of livres Tournois (or somewhat above one million four hundred thousand pounds sterling). The provinces of the crown of Arragon have another form of taxation, and have no provincial rents, such as those of which we have spoken.

They are happily exempt from the *alcabale*, the place of which is there supplied by equivalent duties ; they pay one general contribution, which each city, borough, and community assesses proportionately on its inhabitants. As some of these provinces were the last to acknowledge the authority of Philip V. that monarch, to punish their obstinacy, deprived them of a part of their privileges, and established a form of taxation different from that of the crown of Castile. But his intention was evaded ; and, in fact, they are better treated in this respect than the rest of the kingdom.

Catalonia, which more than any other province, had provoked the monarch's resentment, was subjected to a register in which all the lands were undervalued and taxed at eight per cent. upon the rents arising from them ; but they scarcely pay more than one per cent. upon the real amount. To this register was

was added, a tax upon industry, which not being arbitrarily assessed, is not burthenfome, and this double taxation is not prejudicial either to agriculture or industry in Catalonia.

The provinces of the crown of Arragon are besides subject, like those of Castile, to the impost called *tercias reales*, and obliged to take, at a fixed price, the articles salt, tobacco, lead, &c. which are sold for the king's account.

They are also equally subject to the bull of the crusade. The primitive object of this bull was to grant indulgencies to those Spaniards who should contribute, either by personal service or subscription, to support the war against the infidels. The produce of the bull is still employed in the same manner, since the Spanish monarchs who receive it are obliged to apply it to the support of their fortresses and garrisons upon the coast of Africa. Until the reign of Ferdinand VI. this grant of the court of Rome

was

was to be renewed every five years; a subjection of the inconvenience of which Philip V. was sufficiently sensible, on three different occasions, when his quarrels with the holy see prevented him from obtaining a renewal of the bull. It was not until the compact of 1753, that it was made perpetual: since that time it has become a constant source of revenue to the treasury; and if Spain, influenced by motives of policy and humanity, should become reconciled to every infidel nation, as she has been under the present reign to the Ottoman Port; the emperor of Morocco, and more recently to the regency of Algiers, this tax, though incapable of being applied to the purpose for which it was originally established, would not the less continue to be levied.

The price of the bull is fixed at twenty-one quartos, about fourteen or fifteen sols (7d. or 7½d.) No Catholic in Spain can dispense with buying it with-

without having his orthodoxy suspected. Provided with this bull, besides the indulgences annexed to it, he has the liberty of eating meat with the consent of his physician and confessor, as also to eat eggs and milk, on fast days, and during Lent.

This species of voluntary taxation is received by a magistrate who bears the title of *Commissary-general of the Cruzada*; it produces to the king something more than four millions and a half of livres (187500 l.).

The clergy are not exempt from it, nor is this the only tax they pay.

In the first place, they are in part subject to that of *millones*; but to this it is necessary the pope should consent every six years by a brief. As there are many places where separate accounts are not kept for ecclesiastics, they pay the whole tax in common with the laity; but the consumption which each ecclesiastic

fiastic makes in wine, oil and other articles subject to the *millones*, is carefully estimated and always in their favour. In this manner a calculation is made of what they ought to pay of the tax, and they are reimbursed whatever they have paid above this estimation.

But as, in most cases, fact always differs a little from right, the clergy pay next to nothing of the *millones*, in the smaller districts where they easily acquire a pre-eminence, and the weight of the tax naturally falls upon the body of the people.

There is another impost called *Subsidio*, to which ecclesiastics are also subject.

But the greatest contribution levied upon them is the *escusado*, which is also denominated *casa dezmera*, *tenthed house*, because it consists in the right granted by the holy see to the kings of Spain, to appropriate to themselves the most
advan-

advantageous tenth of each parish, as well of the crown of Castile as that of Arragon.

This contribution, were it exactly levied and collected, would bring a very considerable sum to the Spanish treasury, but it has been made an object of speculation and subscription, which has considerably diminished its produce. Under the reign of Ferdinand VI. a resolution was taken to discover what it really would produce, and for this purpose it was for some years managed by commissioners. But before sufficient information was obtained, the marquis of Squilace, coming to the administration of finances almost at the same time that Charles III. ascended the throne, was too much in haste to farm it. The *Junto* charged with the plan of one only impost, had proved in a memoir presented in 1756, that for the crown of Castile it might be stated at four millions of livres Tournois; nevertheless the minister of finances farmed out, at three millions

lions, the whole of the *escusado*, to the corporation of merchants at Madrid, commonly called the *Gremios*; and since then a part of the clergy have obtained a power of managing it on their own account, with which privilege they were allowed an abatement of one-third.

Notwithstanding these restrictions, if we observe that the *tercias reales* are still an impost, and at the same time recollect, that the kings of Spain have the power of granting pensions upon all benefices, even to a third of their produce, we shall find there is little foundation for the assertion, that the Spanish clergy do not contribute to the expences of government.

It may be imagined, that Spanish America is one great source of revenue to the royal treasury, but hitherto its produce has been but trifling.

For a long time the expences of the administration of these immense colonies

nies were not defrayed by the revenues they produced; and it is only since the administration of M. de Galvez that Mexico has yielded a surplus by the establishment of the farm of tobacco.

All the duties and contributions, of which I have given a summary account, produced in 1776, no more than one hundred and ten millions of livres (upwards of four millions and a half sterling) and not even that sum the following years; and it is said, the national expence constantly exceeds the receipt. The minister is endeavouring to find the most sure and least burthenfome means of supplying the deficiency, and of creating a sinking fund for the debts of Spain.

For although the debt of this kingdom be not so great as those of France or England, it yet amounts to a very considerable sum.

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In the first place, the sovereigns of the Bourbon family inherited from those of the house of Austria, the debts called *Juros*, which, however, bear but a moderate interest. This is a charge to the state of about five millions of livres (208000 l.) the payment of which is made from different branches of the revenue.

Philip V. left, as we have observed, debts to the amount of forty-five millions of piastras, or upwards of a hundred and sixty millions of livres Tournois (above six million and a half sterling).

At his death, Ferdinand VI. his son and successor, an equitable and a pious prince, terrified at so enormous a burden, and hesitating between the fear of making the state support it, and the scruple of depriving the creditors of their right, assembled a junto, composed of bishops, ministers and lawyers, and proposed to them the following question; *Is a king obliged to discharge the debts of his predecessor?* Will it be believed, that it

was

was decided in the negative, under the pretence that the state was a patrimony of which the sovereign had but the temporary use, and that he was answerable for no engagements but his own? This decision, equally contrary to reason, justice and policy, quieted the conscience of the monarch, and legalized in his eyes that which was a real bankruptcy. The payments of the debts of Spain were entirely suspended.

Ferdinand VI. carried his inconsiderate œconomy still further. His determination had given a mortal blow to the credit of the nation. Wholly employed in making savings, he suffered every branch of administration to languish; the army, fortresses and colonies were neglected. When Charles III. ascended the throne in 1759, he found in the royal coffers upwards of a hundred and sixty-five millions of livres tournois. The new sovereign, more delicate in his scruples than his predecessor, thought it incumbent on him to repair the fatal omission of Ferdinand VI.

In 1761, he paid six per cent. of the capital due from Philip V. but beginning with his own subjects, who were creditors, he put off foreigners until all the Spanish debts should be discharged. This was treating his subjects as a good father of a family would his children; but it was, perhaps, at the same time destroying all the sources of foreign credit in future. In modern times, when war costs more money than men, when great enterprizes frequently require prodigious sums, what state can supply its own wants? Spain continued for five years to pay six per cent. in diminution of her capital debt.

In 1767, the dividend was reduced to four per cent. The following year fifteen millions of livres were distributed among the home creditors; and in 1769, the expences of the state were so increased as to necessitate a suspension of further dividends; an interruption which gave the finishing stroke to the credit of government. Whilst I was in Spain, people were glad to sell their claims

claims at a loss of eighty per cent. However, there are some opportunities of disposing of them to greater advantage. Foreigners or subjects, treating with government upon any enterprize it meant to favour, have passed a certain portion of them at par. They are, moreover, received in payment of the *medias annatas*; but, except in these particular cases, the claims upon Philip V. are almost of no value; they bear no interest, and the entire liquidation of them, if ever it should take place, can only be considered as very distant. This is a truth, of which those of my countrymen who have or may have any concern with them, cannot be too much convinced. During my abode in Spain, I had sufficient proof of this by several unsuccessful attempts, and was witness to the unfavourable issue of those made by others. A circumstance related to me by persons worthy of credit will be sufficient to prove what I have asserted. One of the valets de chambre of Louis XV. was a holder of one of these securities,

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rities, and imagined he might profit by the favour shewn him by the king to obtain an exception. Louis XV. wrote with his own hands to Charles III. requesting he would grant it; but the Spanish monarch answered the king his cousin, whom he had always professed to love with particular tenderness, that he was obliged to refuse his request, least he should give an example which might produce too many similar demands and importunities.

It is not that the Spanish government does not perceive the moral and political inconvenience of thus depriving the possessors of these claims of their right, or that it totally rejects the idea of one day satisfying their demands. But the necessities of the state, considerably increased by the enormous expences of the late war, have not hitherto permitted it to adopt proper measures. In 1783, government endeavoured with this view to open a loan of a hundred and eighty millions of reals, or about five millions
of

of livres (about two hundred thousand pounds). One of the conditions of which loan was; that the claims upon Philip V. should be received to the amount of a third of the subscription. This, however, did not raise the value of the claims so much as was expected; the credit of states resembles the human body, an instant may destroy either, but much time is required to give them strength and maturity. The loan which was supposed to be offered upon advantageous terms, tempted but very few persons to subscribe. At the beginning of the year 1785, it had scarcely produced three millions of livres; and it was soon afterwards closed. Foreigners who would have been glad to make advantage of their claims, were deterred by the consideration that they must risk a capital double the sum of that they wished to recover. The loan, in fact, recalled to their memory the loss they had already sustained. Few were willing to expose themselves to the same hazard again, notwithstanding the difference of

times, and the reasons which might now be adduced for their better security.

The Spanish nation itself is, in general, suspicious, and does not resemble those which the spirit of stock-jobbing keeps in a continual fermentation. It prefers a moderate gain to the hazardous speculations so eagerly adopted in some other countries; and is more than any other nation attached to its ancient habits and customs. For a long time past, far from being tempted by foreign speculations, it had confined its confidence to the company of merchants at Madrid, known by the name of *Gremios*, of which we have already had occasion to speak. The treasure of the *Gremios* is a kind of public bank, in which individuals may place their money at the moderate interest of two and a half and three per cent.

The foundation of the confidence it inspires, is the constant support which government has given the *Gremios*, and
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the regularity with which they have always paid the interest of the capital in their hands; and although they may have hazarded speculations beyond their ability, and government is continually in advance to them, nothing hitherto has shaken their credit. They hold, as we have observed, the farm of the entering duties at Madrid, and that of the *escusado*: they are concerned in the principal manufactories in the kingdom, and formerly had the victualling the army by commission. The government, which has frequently had recourse to them in cases of necessity, has long considered their bank as the chief pillar of the state.

Administration, however, has lately perceived that it could do without them. Necessity even made this a law.

At the beginning of the late war, the state, already fatigued by the efforts it had made in the expedition to South America, no longer having at hand the

extraordinary resources required for the maintenance of its forces by sea and land in both the hemispheres; and deprived of the periodical treasures brought from Spanish America, to enliven the commerce and industry of Europe, which it was unwilling to expose to be seized by the English privateers that already infested all the seas, thought it necessary to make use of a resource, until then unthought of in Spain, to support the expensive war it was about to undertake. Government made application to some French merchants established at Madrid, negotiated by their means a loan of nine millions of single piastres (about thirty-four millions of livres), and issued paper to the amount of the same sum.

This was divided into sixteen thousand five hundred bills of six hundred piastres each, at an interest of four per cent. Those who with imaginary infallibility decide peremptorily on the operations of government, blamed the court of Madrid, because it had not taken the method,

thod, simple in their opinion, of supporting the value of its paper, by establishing a bank, to which the holders of the bills should have gone and discounted them at par. They did not consider that for this a deposit of money was necessary, and that the creation of paper was a proof government had none; that the establishing of a discounting bank would have been useless had the paper been approved: that it would have been shutting up at a loss, funds of which the necessities of the state required the immediate employment; that if, on the contrary, the bills inspired no confidence, the discounting bank would have instantly been exhausted, and that by thus letting slip through one hand what the other had received, the whole operation would have been illusive.

The court was blamed, perhaps with more apparent reason, for having negotiated the loan upon disadvantageous terms, which betraying its embarrassment

ment could not but diminish public confidence. In fact, the bankers who by their credit realized the loan, asked ten per cent. commission, and obtained it. But in such negotiations the lender calculates his risks, and the borrower his necessities; hence arises the law which one imposes and the other receives; and high demands on one side and facility of compliance on the other are equally excusable,

However this may be, as soon as the negotiation, of the motives and securities of which the public were really or feignedly ignorant, was made known, the alarm became general as well in Spain as in foreign nations. All exclaimed against a measure which, said they, the most extreme distress could scarcely excuse; a measure sometimes taken to discharge pressing debts, but never to contract new ones. Foreign bankers, who had advanced their money, said they were taken by surprise, and intimated deception; as if the Spanish government,

ment, whose probity and wisdom is equally undeniable, could have conceived the rash and foolish project of re-imbursing them in paper, or the ridiculous hope of giving this paper a value out of Spain. It lost not a moment in removing their fears, and proving to them by real reimbursements, how little foundation there had been for alarm.

Nevertheless the bills circulated in Spain. At first the temptation of a greater interest than that commonly paid for ordinary subscriptions was not sufficient to give them credit. The law which obliged them to be taken in payment in all dealings as ready money, admitted them on the other hand into all the royal treasuries at their real value: but law has no power over opinion. The bills were a long time received with repugnance. Every person took as few of them as possible, and was careful not to miss the first opportunity of passing them again. In several places ignorance, and in some malignity, contributed to discredit

credit them. Sometimes they were passed at a loss of twenty per cent. This critical situation of government was a new triumph for the *gremios*. The credit they enjoyed was increased by the diffidence with which the bills were received. Their bank seemed an asylum to which people resorted to lodge in security the money they thought exposed to danger in the hands of government. The Spanish ministry braved the storm with that serenity which a measure innocent in itself, but opposed by circumstances, inspires; and as state necessities increased with the progress of the war, new bills to the amount of five millions of piastres were issued in the month of February, 1781; in short, the following year others were issued to the amount of fourteen millions seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand nine hundred piastres. The administration was therefore burthened with a debt of nearly a hundred and eight millions of livres, (four millions and a half sterling) without reckoning other less ostensible obligations,

gations, which might make the whole debt about two hundred millions, (eight millions and one third sterling.)

At the time the first bills were issued, the king of Spain engaged to withdraw a part of them annually from circulation. But monarchs, who are the most rigid observers of their promises, are sometimes obliged to sacrifice them to a law still more imperious, that of state necessity. Besides a matter of greater urgency required the paternal attention of the Spanish Sovereign. At the beginning of the war, he had been obliged to overburthen his people by an augmentation of a tax on some of the principal necessities of life, and which could not but fall still more immediately upon the lower ranks. At the return of peace, one of his first cares was to alleviate this burthen. But five years are past, and the promised re-imbursement is not yet begun, though in the month of June, 1785, Spain withdrew bills to the amount of a million two hundred thousand piastres ;
leaving

laving a debt of about a hundred and three millions of livres, which at four per cent. interest makes a diminution of almost four millions in her revenues.

A few weeks afterwards other paper was issued; but this must not be confounded with that which the war had made necessary. The last bills had no other object than the continuation of the canal of Arragon, of which I have spoken at the beginning of this work. They were circulated in Spain to the amount of twelve millions of livres (five hundred thousand pounds) bearing the same interest as the royal bills. A part of this species of loan was to serve to reimburse that of six millions of florins which the undertakers of the canal had made in Holland at three and a half per cent. A mortgage was given upon the profits of the canal which succeeds too well to leave the lenders the least uneasiness about their subscriptions;

nor

nor can it be considered as a charge to the state.

With respect to the real paper money, its stability has at length been sufficiently evinced. The clamours it excited have ceased. Rational persons, restored to the calm which was disturbed by public outcry, perceive that nothing but ignorance could cause alarms, or be induced to compare the flight and transient disquiet of the Spanish nation with the total confusion produced in France by the system of Law. In fact, the specie of Spain exceeds, by almost three-fourths, the value of its paper, and at the fatal moment in 1720, when the French bank notes were in the greatest credit, their amount was eighty times that of all the money which then circulated in the kingdom. It requires not much reflection to perceive all the impertinence of such a comparison. In Spain, all extraordinary wants ceased with the war. The administration was not suspected of abusing, by issuing new bills, the still uncertain

certain credit of the nation, and thereby depriving itself of the succours it might afford upon similar occasions. These considerations by degrees brought the royal bills to par. When I left Spain (at the end of 1786) they were fought after and advantageously negociated.

It is not less true that Spain finds in her paper a burthen which although not more than she is really able to bear, her natural resources being far from exhausted, is but little proportioned to her present revenues, and this is an additional reason why administration should seek the means of increasing them. Several have already been proposed. A few years ago government had it in agitation to appropriate to itself the immense property of the four military orders, which would produce much more in the hands of the sovereign than it does under its present bad management, and besides bringing an increase of revenue, would furnish the means of replacing by pensions the commanderies annexed

annexed to these orders. But a project which seemed to deviate from the intention of the founders was repugnant to the conscience and religion of the reigning monarch, so that others more compatible with his rigid adherence to justice must be devised. The most reasonable one would undoubtedly have been that of a general tax upon all the lands in the kingdom, without excepting those of the nobility and clergy. But this project, against which those two powerful bodies would certainly raise so loud a clamour, and to which intrigue and the established rights which immemorial possession seems to give, must create insuperable obstacles, would be found as inconsistent with prudence and policy, as the other appeared irreconcilable to the scruples of religion; and Spain, will perhaps, be obliged to wait to receive from the slow resources of oeconomy, the advantages she might propose to herself from a sudden but dangerous change.

However, far from being alarmed at the treatment her returning credit first met with, she delayed not to make a second attempt, which was to revenge the affront, give to her paper an advantageous circulation, awaken the Spaniards from their lethargy, draw from their chests the money there lying useless, both to themselves and the state, and throw it into circulation to the advantage of commerce and industry. Such were her great objects in establishing in 1781, a national bank, which has scarcely any thing in common, except its name, with the banks of other states of Europe.

The idea of it was given by a young French banker, M. Cabanus, established at Madrid, who had begun to insinuate himself into the favour of government at the time the first bills were issued. M. Cabanus has a vigorous and firm mind, united with talents which he had cultivated in secret until the time when he made them

them known. The favour of the minister would not have been sufficient to enable him successfully to struggle against the numerous obstacles he had to encounter. The manner in which he triumphed over them is a greater eulogium on him than any thing I can say in his praise, and has sufficiently revenged him for all the slanders of his enemies. Embarked in a dangerous project, in which a thousand prejudices concurred to prevent his succeeding, he has at once acquired an immense fortune and great honour. Without pretending to appreciate either the merit, utility, or stability of his operations, it must be allowed that nothing but partiality can attribute to chance alone such brilliant and continued success in despite of such powerful opposition.

In 1781, after having profoundly considered the resources of Spain, the causes by which they had been obstructed, and the means of giving them activity, he

digested the plan of a national bank and presented it to the minister.

His principal object was to employ a large sum of money, either in the bank or placed at a very moderate interest. The first means he proposed was to establish a capital, which should discount at four per cent. per annum, all bills of exchange drawn upon Madrid, as well from the other parts of Spain as from the rest of Europe. This resource was moderate; Madrid is not properly a commercial city. The wool Spain sends abroad is the principal article paid for in that metropolis, and this alone would not have furnished a very advantageous employment for the capital of the new bank. An interest of two per cent. would not have been a sufficient temptation. Who at this interest would have been inclined to displace his capital? It was therefore necessary to hold out more seducing advantages. The author of

of the new plan turned his attention to that object.

He required that the profits of the *realgiro*, a particular species of bank, from which the court takes the money it has occasion to send abroad, either for the payment of ambassadors, envoys, consuls, &c. or for other purposes, should be given to the national bank. The administrators of the *realgiro* have a commission of four per cent. This was but a weak resource for the public bank; the *realgiro* pays not more than two or three millions of livres annually.

But the chief source of profits which M. Cabanus proposed to open to the national bank was the victualling and furnishing of the navy and army. Contracts for the first had been given to different persons. The second was held by the *Gremios*, and the several leases and contracts with these and the government were upon the point of expiring.

The bank therefore might replace the former without giving reason for complaint.

Government was easily induced to favor a plan, which was to distribute among a great number of citizens profits until then confined to a few. The capital of the proposed bank amounted to the sum of three millions of reals, or about seventy-five millions of livres tournois (2125000l.) divided into one hundred and fifty thousand shares of two thousand reals each.

Those who had property to purchase shares were not excluded from the profits they might produce, and these, according to the prospectus, seemed to be very promising. Besides the idle money to which an advantageous opening was about to be given, it was hoped that a great part of that in the hands of the Gremios at a moderate interest would naturally be removed from their coffers to those of the national bank. The surplus of the grants from cities and communities

munities were also counted upon. These were in the administration of the council of Castile, whence the national bank was to take them, and make such use of them as should be most advantageous to the persons they concerned. In Spain there are magazines of grain in most of the cities, boroughs and villages *. Their surplus is converted into money. This also was an useless capital, which the bank might employ.

Hence it appears, that great advantages were promised to every class of citizens. It is not therefore astonishing that the minister adopted the project.

It was discussed in 1781, in an assembly composed of members from the chief branches of government. A very considerable majority was in favour of the project. An important question was then debated. When the bank should have a

* There are upwards of five thousand of these in Spain.

contract for furnishing the troops with provision, cloaths, &c. and the navy with provisions, ship-timber, iron, cordage, and the like, would it be proper that government should confide this to its management as a contract, or at a certain commission? The authors of the plan voted for the first proposition. In their opinion, the administration would in that case have the advantage of reckoning upon a fixed sum for the expences of the army and navy; and it would be for the directors of the bank to render the contract advantageous to the parties concerned, without deceiving the intentions of government, which would always have the power of watching over their conduct. The ministry were of a different opinion; they asserted they had not yet documents sufficient to enable them to estimate the expence of thus furnishing the army and navy, and adopted the proposition of allowing a certain commission, with a clause to convert this into a farm or contract, when the experience of some years

years should have proved that it would be advantageous to the finances of the king.

It was therefore determined that the national bank, or bank of St. Charles, should be charged with victualling and cloathing the army, and furnishing the navy with the articles above-mentioned, that it should be allowed an interest of four per cent. on account of the advances to be made to government, and a commission of ten per cent.

It was difficult to make a more advantageous bargain for future subscribers, and it was expected that in a little time their number would be considerably increased. The king and royal family first gave the example; this was followed by several rich individuals, who, more from condescension than conviction, were eager to deposit their capitals in the coffers of the bank. There were other monies of which the directors had previously assured themselves. Such were the

the accumulations of the grants from cities, &c. the surplus of magazines of corn, and certain capitals which waiting for appropriation, were deposited under the safeguard of public authority.

This was the first state of the bank. The event answered not to the most probable conjectures. Most people were unmoved by a prospect which seemed of a nature to tempt every one. But few withdrew their money from the bank of the Gremios; who were only obliged to raise the interest they paid to three and a half per cent. The new establishment had some partizans, but these appeared suspicious. Its antagonists, armed with the pretence of public good, forcibly declaimed against it; they kept up a mistrust which anterior events had prepared, and gained many over to their opinion.

The enemies to the new bank were, in the first place, all those who without previous examination are equally so
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to every novelty; others whose calculations were deranged by it, and those especially who from jealousy or natural prejudices looked with an evil eye upon a young foreigner, well received and supported by the ministry, and taking the advantage of a transient credit to overturn a nation which, said they, might find amongst its citizens men who understand its interests much better. The parallel already drawn between the creation of paper credit and the system of the famous Law was then recollected.

The project in France was that of an ambitious stranger, who had given a mortal blow to the credit of the kingdom, by endeavouring to render it flourishing. In Spain it was that of a stranger also, who pretended to animate public credit and commerce, and aspired to seduce the nation, by tempting it with a chimerical profit. Each had given the idea of a bank; therefore the resemblance was perfect. Thus the greater part of men judge, deceived by the most trifling

trifling similarity between two objects. Sometimes from a mere conformity of names, they create resemblances which have no reality, except in their own imaginations, but which are stupidly adopted by that great multitude who never judge but by hearsay. This was now the case in Spain.

The assertion which personal interest, or sentiments still more odious, had advanced, was adopted, propagated, and commented upon by credulity and ignorance. It was repeatedly said that the bank of St. Charles had presented to the public a plan of operation illusive in its nature, or at least totally incompatible with the true interests of the nation, and which instead of favouring the liberty of commerce, as had been artfully pretended, must be prejudicial to that, as well as to agriculture and industry, by swallowing up the money which might have been more usefully employed in their encouragement, than in naturalizing, in Spain, an evil until
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then unknown ; the class of useless annuitants who should live in opulence and idleness on the labours of their fellow citizens : that it sold to government, at an exorbitant price, its own agency for the conduct of an undertaking in which more able persons, or at least those of more experience might have been employed upon more advantageous terms ; and that after having held up to public hatred all exclusive privileges, it had solicited for itself the most odious of monopolies.

What furnished a pretext for the last accusation, was a grant which the bank of St. Charles obtained soon after its establishment, for the exclusive exportation of piastres. This Spanish money is employed in a great measure to pay the balance of accounts due from Spain to the other nations of Europe. About thirty millions of them are annually struck in Spanish America. Part of these remain in the country ; some are carried out of it in the smuggling trade ;

trade; two or three millions are shipped on board the *Nao* or Galleon from Acapulco; and the rest come to Europe, to pay for merchandize sent thence to America. During a long time the mother country had not shipped commodities to her colonies to the amount of even ten millions of piaftres, and the balance then owing to foreigners was calculated at fifteen millions.

It was absolutely necessary to pay this balance on account of the necessity of discharging debts to preserve credit. In less enlightened times the Spanish ministry had conceived the idea of turning the unavoidable exportation of piaftres to advantage: to increase the revenue of the state, such exportation was subjected to a duty of three per cent. which, in 1768, was augmented to four per cent. and although the ministers are now convinced that it is only an additional tax on their own traders, to whom foreigners sell their goods four per cent. dearer, the state of Spanish finances, and,

and, perhaps, the remains of an attachment to old prejudices, have not yet permitted them to take it off. The consequence is, that the duty is sufficiently high to give temptation to evade it: and even those who are appointed to collect it, favour the clandestine conveyance of piastres out of the kingdom. The whole surplus quits the colonies, but the royal treasure is deprived of a part of its revenues.

In this state of affairs, the bank wished for the exclusive privilege of exporting all the piastres necessary to discharge the balance due from Spain, and represented, that should this be granted, two advantages would result from it to the state; that of preventing the value of money from being increased, which must be the necessary consequence of multiplied negociations; and that of diminishing the fraudulent exportation of piastres, by an extraordinary diligence, which could not be expected from the agents of government. The governors
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of the bank wished at the same time the duty of four per cent. to be taken off, or at least reduced to the half: but government refused either to annul or diminish the duty. Except in this particular the propositions of the bank were perfectly well received.

It was therefore ordered, that in future the bank should possess the exclusive right of exporting piastres; that to prevent them from being fraudulently withdrawn out of the country, they should all pass by the way of Bayonne, except in a few particular cases, in which government should reserve to itself a conveyance through other channels; and also that those who should have money to send into foreign countries, should be obliged to take bills for it from the bank.

This grant, which had the form of an exclusive privilege, excited new clamours. It naturally irritated those, who until then had speculated in smuggling the specie

specie out of the kingdom, others who had been employed to export it legally, and merchants, who, in consequence of the new regulations, were in future to be subject to the laws of the bank, by being obliged to make all their foreign payments in its paper, and to receive it at the exchange the bank should be pleased to issue it at. But all uniting in complaints which had different motives, alledged that the prosperity of commerce would be endangered, its liberty essentially injured by the shackles of monopoly, and that private interest was concealed under the veil of public good.

Ministry were deaf to all these suspicions and objections, and the bank was put in possession of its privilege in the month of November 1783. The first use made of it proved very advantageous to the subscribers. The war, as we have observed, had retarded the arrival of the treasures from America, and the return of peace brought with it a prodigious quantity of piastres. The bank, which

had taken the strictest precautions to prevent their being fraudulently conveyed out of the kingdom, exported upwards of twenty millions in 1784.

The year following the sums exported amounted to nearly twenty-two millions, and as Europe impatiently waited the arrival of these periodical succours, the bank could not but sell to advantage a merchandize which is the price of those which Europe furnishes to Spanish America, which the latter country only produces, and which so many were anxious to possess, so that all concerned seemed to gain by the change. The bank, to which the most advantageous preceding years had not produced six millions and a half of reals for the duty of four per cent. upon the exportation of piastres, received from it in 1784 upwards of fifteen millions, and from sixteen to seventeen millions in 1785, and this one article produced a profit of twelve millions of reals to be divided among the subscribers.

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In the mean time the expiration of the contracts with government for the victualling of the army and navy had put the bank in possession of these principal sources of its revenue. Its dividends were therefore increased. That of 1784, the first it made, was nine and a half, also a profit of forty-seven livres ten sols (3s. 7d.) upon each share which had been bought at its primitive value of five hundred livres (21l. 16s.) or two thousand reals. The triumph of the bank was then complete, and its enemies, at least those in Spain, suffered their spleen to evaporate in silence. As men in all countries ever pass from one extreme to another, invective was soon changed into enthusiastic panegyric.

The bank took advantage of this revolution, to increase, at different times, the shares which it had yet to dispose of *, and thus to enable itself to increase

* They were first raised fifteen per cent. upon their primitive value of two thousands reals, and

crease future dividends. The fermentation reached such foreign kingdoms as were then habitually addicted to stock-jobbing. In a little time the shares of the bank rose in France, Geneva and other places to eight thousand reals, or two thousand livres; and the Spaniards having less faith or more foresight than foreigners, were not wanting to encourage and gratify this inconsiderate ardor.

It was, however, but momentary, although it lasted long enough to produce pernicious revolutions in several fortunes. It were to be wished it had never existed. Some persons, influenced by a patriotic zeal, took upon them to abate its violence. In France, a wri-

fix thousand two hundred and eight were sold at two thousand three hundred reals. Soon afterwards the eagerness of foreigners increased them to two thousand five hundred reals, or six hundred and twenty-five livres, and upwards of fifteen thousand shares were sold at this price. These two augmentations produced to the subscribers a profit of twenty-two millions of reals.

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ter, known by his eloquence, but still more so by a strength of mind which induces him to speak, without reserve, such truths as he believes useful, undertook to instruct his countrymen.

The motive was laudable, but not so the execution of the work. With the energy natural to him, this author repeated and commented upon all the detractors of the bank had said, at the time of its establishment, not forgetting the abuse that had been thrown on him by whom the plan had been projected. He asserted that the bank of St. Charles could not under any point of view be considered as proper for Spain; and that it had departed from the simple and useful operations to which its founder had declared it was to be confined: that it must sooner or later lose the favour of government; that it became more and more odious to the commercial world by the monopoly it exercised; and that the subscribers could have no real con-

fidence either in its duration or stability.

In imitation of its first enemies, he compared it to the system of Law; and maintained that the founder had even taken that system for his model.

Hence he concluded, that great commercial nations had reason to fear least their subjects, who had great capitals, should embark too much of their property in the bank of St. Charles, because they had need of all their aid to lighten the burden of their own debts; that they were not in a situation to lend great sums to foreigners, especially when it appeared that the loan must be perpetual; and finally, that individuals who exposed their fortunes in so hazardous an enterprize, acted like bad citizens as members of society, and like madmen as fathers of families.

The court of Madrid, leaving time and reason to contradict these assertions, which

which tended greatly to diminish the public confidence in an institution to which it had given its sanction, took the founder's part, and the council of Castile in June 1785, passed a decree which proscribed the publication, and thereby proved that the period announced by its author was yet at a distance.

But this proscription prevented not the work from having its effect. The enthusiasm of French stock-jobbers was abated, and since that time has not recovered its former ardour. It is not the interest even of the bank that it should again return. Such a wish can be formed only by greedy speculators, who hope to profit by momentary convulsions, to enrich themselves at the expence of the credulous. A great part of the shares of the bank first sold in foreign countries have returned to Spain. The bank itself took advantage of their reduced price, which fell to two thousand two hundred and forty reals, or five hun-

dred and sixty livres, to buy in about twenty-five thousand, which it proposes to keep, the deduction of which will increase the future dividends in the same sum for the rest of the co-proprietors.

Its last meeting (that at the beginning of the present year, when the accounts of 1787 were given in) was tumultuous. A cabal was raised against the directors of the institution, which even accused them of a want of probity. The opposition pretended that some of the directors, who at the same time are principals of commercial houses, had abused the public confidence in their management of the discounting business, by favouring their own affairs. A committee was appointed to examine their conduct, as well as all the accounts of the bank from its establishment, and to reform abuses.

The accused, free from reproaches of conscience, wait without fear the result of the examination. But M. Cabanus, whom

whom success has rendered impatient, is not yet familiarized to the assaults of intrigue, and has given in his resignation, offering at the same time to aid the directors with his advice as a simple individual. The meeting exclaimed against this hasty resolution. It even addressed the king, praying his majesty to pay no attention to it. The monarch is slow in pronouncing; but whatever may be his decision, M. Cabanus may be certain of preserving a preponderance in an establishment founded by himself, and of which, in spite of envy, he is become the principal spring. He may recollect for his consolation (*si magna licet componere parvis*) that Augustus dated the firm establishment of his authority from the day he seemed willing to abdicate the empire.

The part the bank has taken in the operations of the new Philippine company, is another circumstance which must have an influence upon the produce of its shares. M. Cabanus induced it,

it, in 1785, to add to the funds of the company the sum of twenty-one millions of reals, deducted from the dividend of 1784 : this gave to each share an interest of one hundred and forty reals, or thirty-five livres, in the property of the Philippine company. Whatever may be the issue of this new institution, the association cannot be prejudicial to the bank, and may be of considerable advantage to it ; and if the advantage be ever so little apparent, it is strongly to be presumed the value of the shares will be increased. On the other hand, should the contrary be the event, they will experience no sensible diminution. The bank having risked but little, can be exposed but to a moderate loss ; which moreover will not fall upon the capital. In May 1785, the bank made a proposal, the admission of which will furnish a new employment to its funds. This was to undertake the completion of the canal, which, as we have before observed, is to begin at the foot of the mountains of Guadarrama, and terminate

minate at the Guadalquivir, after crossing the center of Spain. It has offered to make the necessary advances for this great undertaking upon the same conditions on which it received the contract for victualling and cloathing the troops; the proposal was accepted by government, who immediately sent M. le Maur to take the levels in various places through which the future canal is to pass. The unexpected death of that able engineer did not suspend the work he had begun; and this will furnish the bank with another means of augmenting its profits, and rendering itself advantageous to Spain without endangering the funds.

In every case, I think, with impartial judges who have nothing to gain or lose by the credit which may be given to a contrary opinion, that the placing of money in the bank of St. Charles is advantageous, and must appear safe. Not that the great dividends with which it has begun ought always to be expected; the sources whence they were drawn,

drawn, are either exhausted or diminished. It has no more profits to make upon the sale of shares; these were all disposed of at the end of the year 1785, except one thousand one hundred and six to which an appropriation has previously been assigned. The exportation of piastres will not in future be so advantageous as it was immediately after the peace. But so long as the bank preserves that exclusive privilege, and government shall confide to it the victualling and other supplies for the army and navy, the principal source of its profits*, the sub-

* It is true, that in 1787, the victualling, &c. which until then had been performed at a commission of ten per cent. has been converted into a contract; but at the price which government has agreed to give the bank, it is proved that the gain will be as considerable as formerly. However the first effect of the change was disadvantageous to the bank. Government gave it a retro-active effect; and as the bank had until then made its dividends according to its right of commission of ten per cent. it was obliged to diminish in proportion its last dividend, to render back that with which it had too much augmented the first. Wishing immediately to effect
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subscribers, those at least who bought their shares at the primitive value, of two thousand reals, or five hundred livres, may reckon upon an interest of from five to six per cent.

The Spanish government is far from that versatility which might cause it to abandon an institution, the plan of which it had brought to maturity, and which has some incontestible advantages, both

this re-imbusement, it reduced the dividend of 1787, from six and a half per cent. to five and a quarter. This debt once acquitted the dividends, will be made as usual. Several circumstances will concur in increasing them afterwards. Hitherto their distribution has always been the date and occasion of an act of beneficence. The bank, this year, appropriated the surplus of five per cent. to succour the unfortunate who had suffered some months before from the inundations in Navarre. Such an use of what it considers as a surplus, is sufficient to excuse its profits, and recommend it still more to the nation; in fact, the first prejudices of the people against it begin to be dissipated, and communities accustom themselves to see their funds, formerly unemployed, directed by the bank to an useful activity.

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for itself and a great part of its subjects. But let us suppose the worst to happen, that yielding to the representations of commercial people, and renouncing the surplus of the profit which the treasury receives from the exportation of piastres since it is confined to one company, it should determine to leave the exportation free as it was before: let us suppose also, that for the love of public good, it should accept the offers made to furnish the army and navy upon better terms than those of the bank; what would be the result? The bank reduced to the slender profits of discount, and the *realgiro*, would indeed be obliged to cease its operations; but as according to its constitution it cannot change the course of its funds; as the sum which it has placed in the hands of the Philippine company was not taken from the bank capital, but from its profits, there is every reason to presume that the capital would remain untouched and be employed to re-imburse all the proprietors of shares. Therefore these are
only

only exposed to one risk, that of government's seizing the capital in a moment of distress. But were this apprehension well-founded, there would be nothing sacred on earth; policy in defect of virtue must serve the proprietors as a safeguard; and it is not from the Spanish government that they ought to fear a measure which would be equally treacherous and imprudent, especially at a time when it is seriously engaged in repairing the wounds given to its credit in preceding reigns, and in taking advantage of it to second the general inclination of the kingdom to engage in useful enterprizes.

It will here be proper to speak of its capital in money, not as a banker, that is not in my power, but as a traveller, who wishes to give some idea to his readers of every thing relative to a country in which he has resided for a considerable time.

It

It seems, at first sight, that it must be easy to know what money circulates in Spain. She possesses all the metals which she uses in her mint. These, when converted into coin, cannot be brought from America without paying a duty. On entering Spain the money pays another, and a third is required upon sending it thence to a foreign kingdom. It should therefore seem, that the custom-house books would give a clear idea of the coin in Spain. But a great part of the money struck in the Indies passes clandestinely from America to Europe; foreign merchants also fraudulently receive a part of the value of the merchandize they have sent, although the whole be found on board Spanish vessels returning from America; and as frequent revisions of coin are neglected to be made, there are not data sufficient to arrive at certainty with respect to the quantity of money which usually circulates in the kingdom. It is therefore from loose calculation only, and upon the evidence of some well-informed merchants,

chants, that I have estimated it at eighty millions of double piaſtres, about four hundred millions of livres Tournois (above ſixteen millions and a half ſterling). It will, perhaps, be thought extraordinary that Spain, which is in poſſeſſion of moſt of the gold and ſilver mines in the world, and annually coins thirty millions of piaſtres, ſhould be reduced to ſo moderate a ſum of circulating money, eſpecially when it is recollected that in the reign of Charles V. it contained almoſt all the gold and ſilver in Europe; and, what is ſtill more valuable, poſſeſſed in the productions of its ſoil and induſtry, the means of ſubſiſting without the aid of any other nation.

In leſs than a century that kingdom has fallen from this ſtate of ſplendor. To what is ſo rapid and total a revolution to be attributed? To the abundance of the precious metals which have increaſed the price of commodities, and the wages of workmen; to

the decline of manufactures, which was the consequence; to the depopulation, caused by the numerous emigrations to America; the great destruction of men, occasioned by long wars at a distance from the frontiers; and the expulsion of the Moors and Jews. It may also be more particularly attributed to the ruinous wars undertaken by Philip II. against the Low Countries, and which from the year 1567, to the truce in 1612, cost upwards of two hundred millions of piastres. But every thing announces that Spain is about to rise from her ashes, and will soon be industriously employed in cultivating her soil, and animating her manufactures. Weary of pursuing a passive commerce, she will soon cease to lessen her current coin, by paying foreign industry, and sending every year the greatest part of her money to exchange the image of her monarch for that of foreign sovereigns.

The first coin, as well gold as silver, which was struck in Spanish America, was

was irregular in its shape as much as in its impression, which on one side was a cross, and on the other the arms of Spain. Some of it is still in circulation, but it is not received for its nominal value until it be weighed to see that it has lost nothing of its intrinsic worth.

The impression varied until the year 1772, when a new coinage took place, in which the head of the sovereign was struck on one side, and on the other the arms of Spain round an escutcheon.

The pieces of gold are the *doblon de a ocho*, called in France *quadruple, once d'or*, or *medaille*, which when exchange is at par is worth eighty livres French (3l. 6s. 8d.)

The half *doblon de a ocho*, value forty livres.

The *doblon* of gold, worth half the preceding piece.

The half doblon of gold.

The little gold crown or *durito*, which in 1779 was the value of half the demi-doblon, but at present is worth one twentieth more, and consequently about five livres five sols (4s. 4½d.)

The silver coin consists of the great piastre, worth about twenty reals, a quarter of the doblon of gold, that is a hundred sols, (4s. 2d.) when exchange is at par.

The half piastre worth about five reals.

The *pezeta colunaria* or little piece of five reals, which is coined in America only, and bears on one side two pillars and on the other two globes crowned.

The common *pezeta* of four reals worth about twenty sols (10d).

The

The half *pezeta* of two reals and a half.

The common half *pezeta*, which is also called *real de plata* worth about two reals of vellon.

The quarter *pezeta*, coined also in the Indies, exclusively.

The *realito* or real of vellon, worth about five fols ($2\frac{1}{2}$ d.) *

The copper coins are, the *doble quarto*, four of which make a real. The double *quarto* is worth about one fol three deniers ($1\frac{1}{2}$ d.)

The *quarto*, which is half the preceding piece.

The *ochavo*, half of the *quarto*.

* All these little pieces are diminutions of the piastre.

The *maravedi*, which is the smallest money that exists. Thirty-four *maravedis* make a real. Few of them are found even in Spain, and I imagine none have lately been coined.

No gold coin is struck in America. The silver coin from the mints there bears for its distinguishing marks, on one side the two pillars, and on the other the head of the sovereign crowned with a wreath of laurel.

There are mints at Peru, Santa Fé and Mexico. The greater number of the piastres which come to Europe are coined in the latter. There are but three mints in Spain, those of Madrid, Seville and Segovia: the latter coins copper money only. Besides these, there are as in France and England ideal monies, or monies of exchange, which are,

The *simple pistole* or the *doblon* worth about four simple piastres or fifteen livres (12s. 6d.) exchange at par. It is accord-

according to this ideal money that exchange is regulated between France and Spain. When it is against France, the pistole is not worth fifteen livres; but it exceeds that price when exchange is favourable.

The simple piastre or *peso*, which is called *peso sencillo* to distinguish it from the *peso fuerte*, great piastre, is worth 15 reals or about 3 livres 15 sols (3s. 1½d.)

The ducat, worth eleven reals. This is the money in which the salaries of places under government are paid. It is almost out of use without the frontiers of Spain.

I shall not mention other kinds of ideal money, which are not known except in the provinces.

For three centuries past the court of Spain has been careful not to change the standard of its money. It was no doubt aware that infidelities or even

variations of this kind must create uncertainty and distrust in the operations of commerce, which draws from the Spanish possessions the greatest part of the money necessary to fettle its balances.

Nevertheless in 1737, the court of Madrid having observed that the great piastre had only a value proportioned to the difference which then existed between the gold and silver coin increased it to twenty reals; the equilibrium intended to be established between these two metals being again destroyed, the value of gold was no longer in proportion to its abundance. There was too great an advantage in exporting it in preference to silver. If Spain had not applied a remedy she would in the end have been wholly deprived of that metal.

Government therefore thought proper in 1779 to add a sixteenth to the imaginary value of the gold coin, without changing

changing the weight or standard. By this operation, the *quadruple* or *doblon de a ocho*, which before was worth but fifteen great piaftres was increased to sixteen; and all the other gold pieces in proportion. Nations which possess precious metals give laws to others, with respect to the standard of their money, and those who do not follow them must sooner or later be the victims of their obstinacy. This just observation constantly confirmed by experience has recently determined our ministry to increase the value of gold.

There is in Spain a fovereign court which regulates and decides affairs relative to the coin, under the title of *real junta de commercio, moneda, minas, &c.* because its jurisdiction extends to whatever relates to commerce, the mines, and some other objects.

According to the new form given it in 1705, it should be composed of three counsellors of Castile, five of the Indies,

dies, two of finances, one of the tribunal *de la Contratacion*, and two intendants from France. But as in practice things are different from what they ought to be, the *Junta de Comercio*, has but one member of the council of Castile, and two of that of the Indies. All the others are members of the council of finance.

This court or *junto* is as independent in other respects as the other sovereign councils of the monarchy.

The council of war is more a tribunal than a permanent board of military administration; the king, indeed, commonly consults it relative to the regulations of his troops. Until the reign of Philip V. this council appointed to the superior military offices. Every disposition which uselessly renders complex the springs of government, which furnishes matter for intrigue, without affording a support to liberty, ought to be rejected by true political wisdom. Under

der the present family, the throne inherited the prerogative of conferring military rank from the council of war. The king names to all military employments, upon the presentation of the inspector, of whom, as I have before observed the minister at war is no more than the interpreter. The inspectors elude on many occasions the interposition of the council of war; but for the sake of form, military measures taken without its concurrence, receive its sanction.

The chief functions of the council of war are to administer justice to those, who in a civil or military capacity, bring their causes before that tribunal. It is divided into two chambers, or *salas*, the *sala de Gobierno* and the *sala de Justicia*. The former is especially employed in matters of administration. It is for the most part composed of military men, and has for counsellors the most ancient captains of the body guards, and the

the oldest of the two colonels of the guards.

The *sala de Justicia* is confined to litigations, but judges not finally. If the parties are dissatisfied with its decision, they may require the other chamber to be joined to it to examine the cause anew.

All the causes of strangers are carried by appeal to the council of war ; and foreign nations who have intercourse and connexions with Spain derive great advantages from this tribunal, the equity of which is rarely prevented by national prejudices.

The highest military rank in Spain is that of *captain general* ; which is equal to that of marshal of France, and not incompatible with it ; since these honours were united in the person of marshal Berwick. This preferment is not easily obtained in Spain ; it is confined at present to two persons in the army, the
count

count de Aranda and the duke de Crillon.

Next to the captains general, rank, as in France, the lieutenants general *, field marshals †, and brigadiers ‡ whose uniforms very much resemble those of the French general officers.

The Spanish infantry consists of forty-four regiments of two battalions each, without including those of the Spanish and Walloon guards, each containing four thousand two hundred men in six battalions. Of these forty-four regiments thirty-five are Spanish, two Italian, three Flemish, and four Swiss.

These eighty-eight battalions, each of which should contain six hundred and eighty-four men, would make the Spanish infantry amount to about sixty

* These are forty-seven in number at present.

† Of these there are sixty-seven.

‡ Of these there are a hundred and fifty-six.

thousand

thousand men were they complete, but this is far from being the case; and I have frequently heard it asserted, though that perhaps is exaggeration, that Spain would find a difficulty to bring into the field thirty thousand effective men, in Europe. It is however certain that her infantry is not sufficient for her great extent of possessions, since garrisons must be maintained in Africa, and in several important places in her colonies, as at the Havanah, Porto-Rico, Buenos Ayres and Vera Cruz. At the end of the year 1776 Spain had thirty-two battalions out of Europe; and in 1782, thirty-six in America alone.

The means of recruiting are very confined. The Spanish nation, brave as it is, has for some time had a dislike to the foot service. Each regiment finds a difficulty in procuring men; the colours are raised in places in which it is supposed most dupes and libertines are assembled, and thus, as in France, the regiment is increased by the disorders of society;

fociety; and by a happy metamorphosis those who disturb its repose, are appointed to its defence. The soldiers of our regiments, impelled by their inconstancy, to pass the frontiers, take advantage of the neck of the pyrenees to go and engage themselves to Spanish recruiters. Foreign regiments in the service of Spain are recruited at the expence of ours in particular; and as the Spaniards are far from that unsatisfied restlessness, which characterises their neighbours, and induces them to wander to every part of the globe; and as besides, the French army is much more considerable than that of Spain, all the inconvenience of the proximity of the respective garrisons is on the side of the French, and the court of Madrid is by no means desirous of concluding with that of Versailles a cartel for reciprocally giving up deserters: it was thought sufficient in 1761, that each should agree to restore the arms, horses and baggage of the soldiers which should pass from one service to the other.

Another

Another mode of recruiting the Spanish army is that of the *quintas*, a kind of drawing of militia, which however must be distinguished from that of France, though they are there both in use, one for recruiting the regular troops, the other for the provincial regiments. The ordinance of 1705 enacts, that for the first, lots shall be drawn in each village to chuse one person in five; but then the drawing of the militia shall be suspended. This undoubtedly is the etymology of the word *quintas*. As it always happens, the thing is changed and the word remains. The *quintas* do not at present require so great a number; and as the people have on some recent occasions shewn how odious it was to them, government has recourse to this expedient only in the last extremity. To employ rigour without occasion is not firmness but folly; and to avoid the exertion of authority except when a violent crisis requires extraordinary efforts is not weakness but prudence. The last time the levy of the *quintas* took place, was in 1775, when Spain
was

was preparing to make war against the Portuguese in South America ; she had not recourse to it in the last war, and the regiments employed at the sieges of Minorca and Gibraltar, were completed at the expence of those which were not in actual service.

Besides the forty-four regiments of regular infantry Spain has forty-two of militia * distributed in the provinces of the crown of Castile. They are more or less near to each other according to the population and extent of the province. The regiments are assembled only during one month in the year, in the principal place of which they bear the name ; and then the officers and soldiers are paid ; the same regulation is observed in time of war, when they replace the regular troops in garrisons. At all other times they are dispersed in their vil-

* Besides these there are several companies of burghers militia at Cadiz, Port St. Mary, Corogne and nine other places in Spain.

lages and follow their respective occupations. The regiments, which all consist of one single battalion of seven hundred and twenty men *, must always be complete. As soon as a soldier of the militia dies, deserts, or is discharged, lots are drawn in the village whence he was taken, to replace him. The ordinances of 1703 and 1705, enact that the drawing of the militia shall take one person from a hundred; a rule which must have been departed from in practice. It cannot be supposed that such a regulation has ever been observed; forty-two regiments of seven hundred and twenty men each would amount to upwards of thirty thousand men. These thirty thousand multiplied by a hundred will give three millions of subjects fit to bear arms in the provinces of the crown of Castile; and it will be found difficult to reconcile this calculation with the real state of population in those provinces.

* Except that of Majorca which has two.

The regiments of militia have a particular inspector. Their colonels are chosen from among the most distinguished gentry of the district; and their authority is very extensive over the men. They have the power of inflicting punishments, and there is no appeal from their sentences, but to the king, through the medium of the council of war. Few states in Europe have a better regulated body of militia. The grenadiers of these regiments are in time of war united to the regular troops. They enjoy among their fellow citizens a reputation which their whole conduct during the last war justly merited.

The Spanish soldiers in general have long been justly renowned throughout Europe, for their firm and persevering courage, and the resolution with which they support labour, fatigue, and hunger. Those of our countrymen who saw them at Minorca and before Gibraltar, can determine

whether or not they have degenerated.

I have, however, frequently heard the Spaniards say their troops were not so well commanded as they ought to be. I know not how far the censure is well founded. I have been honoured with the acquaintance of many Spanish officers of rank, as well as subalterns ; and they generally appeared to me to be actuated by the true spirit of their profession. Those who derogate from it seem at least to do themselves justice by concealing the defect. It must however be allowed, that there is more merit in Spain in being what is called a good soldier than in France.

In the first place, although Spain has taken a part in all the wars of this century, it may still be said, that since those of Italy terminated in 1748, her troops have made no real campaigns. The Spaniards themselves dare not give this
name

name to the short war with Portugal, in which they encountered but few obstacles and little danger. The expeditions to Algiers and Buenos Ayres were soon ended; they called into action only a part of the army, and afforded but few opportunities for the display either of courage or of experience. What army in Europe would not have lost its activity by a peace of thirty years almost without interruption? Add to this that the Spanish officers have not the same means of forming themselves with the French. Most of their garrisons are solitary and ill provided, without resource either for instruction or innocent pleasures; the officers have not the privilege of the *semestres* * and but seldom obtain leave of absence to regulate their private affairs. This is undoubtedly a means of making excellent officers of those who are thus in a situation uninterruptedly to perform the duties of their

* Leave of absence for six months every year, or every second year, in France.

profession. But these in all countries are but few in number ; and in general this unvaried and insipid life in the end absorbs the faculties and destroys activity, or diverts the mind to improper objects. It has besides the inconvenience of rendering the service less desirable, and keeping from it those to whom a smaller fortune or a liberal education offers other resources. The Spanish army has lately however undergone an advantageous revolution in this respect. The different schools of which I have spoken, furnish it with persons of distinguished abilities. A martial spirit has been awakened in the nobility of the first distinction ; who embrace the profession of arms, which in them is a greater merit than in ours. What young French colonel would resign himself to pass three or four years at Briançon, Charlemont or Gravelines, remote from his family, his affairs, and what is still more, from the pleasures of the capital ? Yet have I known more than one grandee of Spain willingly submit to similar sacrifices.

All

All I have said of the infantry is applicable to the other corps of the Spanish army. The cavalry consists of fourteen regiments, not including the brigade of carbiniers, raised in 1730. There are eight of dragoons. These two corps have each an inspector. Each regiment of cavalry is composed of four squadrons, which should contain a hundred and fifty men. Were the corps complete, Spain would have an army of thirteen thousand two hundred horse. I have been, however, assured, that in 1776, at the approach of a war, which soon after took place, there were but eight thousand effective horse. In time of peace, the six hundred men, of which each regiment ought to be composed, are reduced to four hundred and eighty, and of this number there are eighty men dismounted.

This arrangement was produced by the œconomy of 1768. The result is, that the cavalry is less agreeable than it otherwise would be to the Spaniards, because the new recruits remain three or

four years on foot, waiting for their turn to have spare horses. Notwithstanding these defects, the Spanish cavalry may be reckoned amongst the finest in Europe.

The corps of carbiniers deserves the attention of connoisseurs. It only requires to be a little better disciplined to be equal to the best regiments of cavalry of other kingdoms. It is stationed in La Mancha, which it never leaves but from time to time to be reviewed by the king, when his majesty is at Aranjuez. I was present at several of these reviews, and could not but admire the beauty, docility, and vivacity of the horses. The carbiniers are besides a chosen corps, inspired with the true military spirit. But their residence in La Mancha, of which they are, if I may use the expression, become citizens, benumbs their activity, and is not without its ill effects on the morals of the inhabitants.

The cavalry is not easily mounted in Spain as might be supposed, from the
great

great celebrity of the Spanish horses. It is generally said the breed is degenerated, and it is certain that fine horses are become more rare. This is attributed to the little care that has been taken to cross the breed, and particularly to the too great number of studs of mules bred from the finest mares in the kingdom. The indefatigable ardor of these animals has given them the preference to horses both with the court and individuals, As the studs of Spain do not produce a sufficient number of mules, the deficiency is supplied by a lesser species from some of the French provinces. The studs of horses which still exist in Andalusia, have been neglected, and there are but few, except those of the king, and the grandees, with that his majesty keeps at Aranjuez, which still support the ancient reputation of the breed of Spain.

Nature which has so liberally bestowed on Spain all the necessaries and luxuries of life, and has scarcely refused that kingdom any of the enjoyments

ments that peace permits to be tasted, has been equally lavish in bestowing all the materials of which war composes the means of destruction; she has given iron in abundance, copper, lead, and salt-petre, and we shall see that this country need not be indebted to any other to supply its artillery with these destructive treasures.

It is only since 1710, that the Spanish artillery has taken its present form. At that period it was collected into one regiment, composed of five battalions, without including the cadets, who are brought up at Segovia. The colonel of the regiment is the commander general, who to the corps of artillery is what the inspector is to the infantry, cavalry, dragoons, and militia. This place is at present held by the count de Lacy, a general officer, originally from Ireland, who had previously represented the Spanish monarch in several northern courts, where he was received with an attention and respect which he well merited. It was said, on the occasion
of

of his promotion, that after having been intrusted out of Spain to advance the political interests of his sovereign, he was at length appointed to improve and urge *the last reasoning of kings*; alluding to the motto on some of these destructive engines, the last resource of kings: *ultima ratio regum*.

His predecessor, the count of Gazola, recalled from Naples by Charles III. when he ascended the throne of Spain, had begun to make improvements in the artillery, which had been neglected under Ferdinand VI. like several other branches of administration. The new monarch, wishing to introduce a reform into his arsenals, requested the count to send him a founder. Mr. Mariz was chosen by the ministry, and made several great alterations in the Spanish founderies.

He adopted the method of casting the cannon solid, and boring them afterwards. Envy created him many difficulties, and some unsuccessful efforts seemed

seemed to justify the malevolence with which he was received; for many of the cannon cast in this new manner, were found defective. He was unpardonably culpable in casting a great quantity of Mexican copper, without first assuring himself that the metal was sufficiently solid. Most of these cannon failed in the proof, and the clamour against him became general. His own courage, and the protection of the monarch, supported him under the storm; and he continued to employ his best endeavours in the service of a country to which he had been called, though he despaired of ever being useful to it. At length he quitted Spain, leaving behind him his method and his principles, with all the precautions and improvements he had been taught by experience. At present, even his enemies acknowledge that he has rendered real services to the Spanish artillery.

The manner in which it was directed in the late war, particularly at the siege of Mahon, proved that this part at least
of

of the military art is as well understood in Spain as elsewhere; and it cannot but be still improved under the auspices of so active and intelligent a commander, whose zeal is assisted by several distinguished officers which Spain neither owes to Ireland nor Italy. Every thing necessary for arsenal stores may be found in the Spanish dominions. Spain has several lead-mines, but they are not all in a proper state to be worked. The principal one is that of Linarez, in the kingdom of Jaen. It produces much more than is sold in Spain for the king's account; and without much effort this kingdom might export a thousand tons per annum, though the other mines, in their present state, produce no more than four hundred tons.

There are several copper mines also in Spain. That of Rio-Tinto is the most productive; it supplies a part of the artillery. But the copper of the Spanish Indies is also laid under contribution. That of Mexico and Peru is refined and manufactured in the two royal founderies

deries of Barcelona and Seville. The cannon cast there have two-thirds of Mexican copper to one of that of Peru.

Biscay and the Pyrenees furnish the iron necessary for the Spanish artillery. The cannon of this metal are cast at Lierganes and Cavada. The cast iron comes from the forges of Eugui and Muga. Fire-arms are made in the province of Guipuzcoa. Those of Catalonia, forged at Placentia, and which, discredited in Spain, it is not known for what reason, were sent to Spanish America on board Catalonian vessels, have regained their reputation, and will in future make it unnecessary for Spain to have recourse to France to arm her troops. Lastly, a manufacture of sword-blades has recently been established at Toledo, which promises to revive the ancient reputation of the blades of that city.

Spain is one of the richest countries in Europe in salt-petre. La Mancha and Arragon had the reputation of furnishing this article of an excellent quality.

A French

A French company had undertaken the preparation of it, and for this purpose sent M. Salvador Dampierre to Spain. This agent, although he wanted not talents, failed in his undertaking. He had made, on a piece of ground near Madrid, some unsuccessful experiments, by which government wisely profited, proving that if its zeal for the public good frequently causes it to have recourse to foreign aid, it does not always stand in need of it to improve what has been sketched out. The ground in question is found to contain salt-petre of a quality superior to that of La Mancha and Arragon; in consequence of which a manufacture was begun there in 1779, which was intrusted to the management of Don Rosendo Parayuelo, one of the commissioners general of rents. At this time it is one of the most interesting establishments of the capital. Within two years it employed four thousand men to carry earth, and boil and purify the salt-petre; which after two boilings is fit for making powder. The first boiling requires eight or ten days, but a few hours

hours are sufficient for the second. Water is conveyed in abundance to this manufacture by subterraneous pipes. Wood has never been wanting since the director has given this opening to that which the inhabitants of the hills of Guadarrama did not before even give themselves the trouble of cutting.

The earth which produces the saltpetre recovers itself with surprising promptitude. The *caput mortuum* is brought to the environs of the manufacture ; and sometimes in less than a month the influence of the air, impregnated with nitre, renders it fit for a second operation. It has been remarked, that after the wind has blown from a certain point, the neighbouring soil becomes whitened, as if snow had fallen upon it. The frequent removing of the earth laid in heaps about the gates of Madrid, gives to that side of the city an appearance of negligence and aridity disagreeable to the eye : but, in this case, the agreeable is very properly sacrificed to the useful.

The

The salt-petre is sent to the powder-mills in the kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, and Granada, the employment of which has been considerably increased since the establishment of the manufacture at Madrid. The proprietors engaged annually to furnish government with eleven thousand quintals of its produce. During the war they exceeded their engagement, and the director flattered himself, in 1784, that he should soon furnish thirty thousand quintals a year. The manufacture, however, could not supply the enormous consumption of powder at the camp of St. Roch: and although thirty thousand quintals were sent thither when the attack was to be made on Gibraltar, it was thought necessary to hasten the arrival of more from Genoa, France, and Holland. But if the manufacture of Madrid continues to prosper, it will not only supply the wants of Spain, but will render gunpowder a considerable article of exportation, provided it receives no such checks as that of the floating batteries, which alone, with one hundred

and ninety-two cannon, consumed eighteen thousand quintals.

Hitherto the quality of this new powder is incontestibly good; it carries twice as far as common powder; for which reason the king of Spain, and the infants, make use of no other in shooting; and the king of Naples receives a small quantity of it by his couriers, who every week set off from Madrid.

Spanish America will soon be independant of the mother country, with respect to this precious yet pernicious commodity, which alternately serves for the pleasures and destruction of mankind. The present minister of the Indies has ordered three manufactures of salt-petre to be established there, at Lima, Mexico, and Santa Fé de Bogota. He expects great success from the latter, which, if the event answers his hopes, will soon furnish a hundred thousand quintals of powder per annum. He has sent to America, for the improvement of these manufactures, the same Salvador Dam-

Dampierre who failed in his attempts in Europe. The fidelity of the Spanish colonies, and the importance of them to the parent country merited that these means of defence should be more within their reach. May the genius of Spain prevent their attempting a less innocent use of them.

The corps of engineers is separated, as in France, from the artillery; it was not established before the year 1711. It consists of ten directors, ten colonels, twenty lieutenant-colonels, thirty captains, forty lieutenants, and forty second lieutenants; in all, one hundred and fifty officers. The care of the fortifications is not sufficient to employ even this small number of persons, and they are indifferently employed in military operations, and in those which in France exclusively belong to the engineers of bridges and causeways. There is one commander for each of these works; and he who presides over the works of civil architecture and hydraulics,

lics, nevertheless retains his rank in the army, although he cannot properly be considered as a military man. The person who at present holds the place has the rank of field-marshal. The other has, under his direction, the three academies established at Barcelona, Oran, and Ceuta, for the instruction of engineers, and those who aspire to that profession. Before I conclude what I have to observe concerning the Spanish army, I shall speak of the marks of distinction, and rewards, conferred upon the officers.

The general officers, have, as I have already observed, an uniform very much resembling that of a French general. The colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, wear no epaulettes. The former have three narrow gold or silver laces upon the cuff, the lieutenant-colonels two, and the majors only one. The captains wear two epaulettes; the lieutenants, one upon the right shoulder; the second lieutenants, one upon the left. All officers who are not at least field-marshals are obliged continually

nually to wear their uniform even when they appear at court.

According to some late regulations, no person can become an officer without having been a cadet. The military school, first established at Avila, and not long since removed to Port Saint Mary, is not so much intended to instruct students in the first elements of tactics, as to cultivate the dispositions of officers, whatever may be their age, who have the noble emulation of distinguishing themselves in the military profession, in which well-directed studies, though they cannot supply the want of, may in some measure anticipate, experience. Nothing is omitted in this academy which may conduce to that end; and it is, perhaps, the only institution of the kind in Europe. I speak in favour of it with the more pleasure, as its founder is no longer sensible of panegyric or adulation.

The kings of Spain have no more forgotten the declining years of their
mili-

military men than their youth. There is a corps of invalids in Spain, as well for officers as soldiers; but the forty-six companies, of which it is composed, are distributed at Madrid, and in the provinces, where they perform an easy duty. Those incapable of all service form another corps of twenty-six companies, divided between Seville, Valencia, Lugo, and Toro. Both these corps are under the inspector of the infantry.

In Spain there is no order of knight-hood particularly destined to the reward of officers. The present sovereign has, however, imposed on himself a law to confer on none but these the four military orders; yet, without excluding them from that he has himself founded. But these favours absolutely depend upon his pleasure, and not upon the length of service. There are besides other means of rewarding the old servants of the crown; the king bestows on them pensions or employments analogous to their profession; his beneficence also extends to their widows.

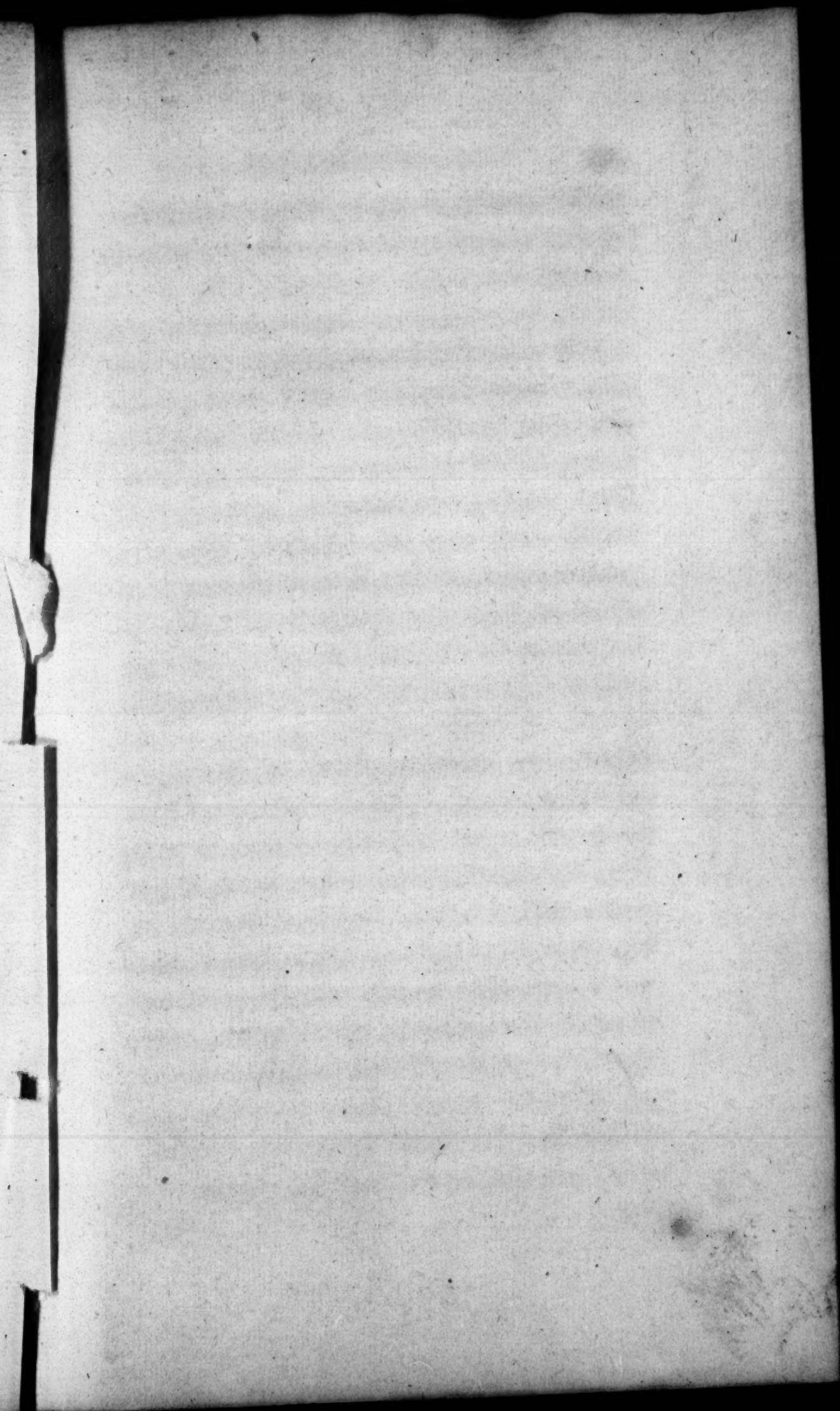
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In 1761, he established a fund from which they receive pensions according to the rank of their husbands. Eighteen thousand reals a year are paid to those of captains-general, twelve thousand to those of lieutenants-general, and in proportion to the widows of petty officers. This fund, consists of a grant of six thousand doblons, about ninety thousand livres (3750l.) anterior to its establishment; a contribution of twenty per cent. upon what the king receives from the spoils of bishops, and from the revenues of vacant bishopricks; a deduction of eight maravedis for each crown upon all the pensions enjoyed by the subjects of the king; half of the first year's pay of all the officers of the army; another deduction of eight maravedis from each crown of their pay; and all the property of officers dying without heirs, or intestate: a truly valuable and beneficial institution, which by insuring a subsistence to the widows of officers, without their standing in need of protection to enforce their claims, has greatly encouraged military men to marry,

marry, and has had an influence, even in this respect, upon the other classes of society.

The place of commandant-general of a province is an opening to general officers, but obliges them to almost a perpetual residence; for in Spain, bishops, intendants, governors and commanders reside where they are employed, although the residence of the sovereign and that of the capital have the same temptations for ambition and dissipation as in other countries.

All the commandants of provinces bear the title of *captain-general*, which however must not be confounded with that of the first military rank. They commonly receive, but from an abuse, the title of vice-roy also, which properly belongs to none but the commandant of Navarre, and those of the principal provinces of Spanish America.



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